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THE CAMPAIGN IN MISSOURI

AND THE

BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK, 1861.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS, MARCH, 1900, BY COL. WILLIAM M. WHERRY, U. S. A.

I desire to explain, by way of preface to the paper which follows, that I have selected the campaign therein described, notwithstanding its familiarity in most of its features to those present, and the further fact that it had no especial bearing upon the war, — of which it was an episode rather than a part of a well-digested plan, — because, having participated in it myself, I am more acquainted with its details than those who have heretofore written about it, and because it illustrates some very interesting features of strategy and tactics.

Undoubtedly, whatever of failure is to be observed in the result of the battle is to be justly ascribed to the marked departure from the maxim not to divide an inferior force to attack a superior one.

A valuable lesson is to be gained by comparing the military operations of the early days of the war of the rebellion, — when we had but raw levies, hastily organized and poorly equipped, almost without transportation, and lacking system and coherence in many respects in the departments of sup-

ply, led by generals who had as yet no experience in the command of large bodies in the requirements of war on a grand scale — with the achievements of a later time, when the troops had become veterans tried in many battles, were fully and lavishly equipped, their transportation and supply departments in perfect order and managed like clockwork, and led by generals who had added to liberal attainments derived from schools that knowledge and capacity which experience in actual war alone can give.

As you have listened to the details of some such campaigns, I propose to give you a brief sketch of the one in Missouri in the summer of 1861, ending with the battle of Wilson's Creek and the retreat to Rolla.

As a matter of historical interest, and to fully appreciate the military operations, it is proper to sketch something of the political aspect of affairs in the theatre of operations; and on this part of the subject I will be as brief as possible.

The State of Missouri was at that time, as you all know, a slave State, with a heterogeneous population; but the wealth was chiefly in the hands of people with decidedly Southern proclivities, who, outside the large cities and towns at least, controlled the politics of their sections, and even in St. Louis gave tone to society, and wielded great power in affairs.

Early in the secession movement, emissaries from the Southern States which were passing secession ordinances visited Missouri, and endeavored to stir the people up to rebellion. The State government sympathized with the movement, and in the spring of 1861 a convention was called to take the State out of the Union. The people, however, elected a majority of Union men to the convention; and although it was presided over by Sterling Price, a prominent man, afterwards a major-general in the Confederate army, the convention refused to take the State out of the Union, by an overwhelming majority.

Still there was a large number of well-meaning people

who followed the subtle teachings of those leaders, who, finding they could not place the State in concert with the rebellious States, sought to antagonize her to the general government by a cry of "neutrality," and "no coercion." When the president issued his proclamation for seventy-five thousand volunteers, an insulting and defiant refusal was returned by the governor of Missouri in response to the demand for her quota. Meantime the State Legislature had enacted a stringent militia-law, looking to the enrolment of a large force, and making allegiance to the State paramount to that to the general government.

The State government proceeded to organize new regiments, and ordered camps of instruction in various parts of the State, the principal one of which was located at Camp Jackson, in the outskirts of the city of St. Louis, and it contained a brigade of well-armed men, under Brigadier General D. M. Frost, who had been an officer of the regular army.

The Federal government seemed desirous to conciliate the middle-men, or neutrality-men, — as contradistinguished from the earnest men of either side, — rather than the uncompromising loyalists; possibly out of some mistaken tenderness for the border States, of which Missouri was considered one, on account of their peculiar situation and condition at the time.

But the true Union men, acting in spite of these adverse circumstances, secretly met and organized in military battalions at St. Louis, and one or two other points where they could protect themselves.

Fortunately the United States arsenal at St. Louis, at the time containing about seventy-five thousand muskets and other munitions of war, was early garrisoned by a company of the Second Infantry, under command of Capt. Nathaniel Lyon. This officer was noted for his ardent patriotism. He had had considerable experience in Florida, and the Mexican war, and in frontier service, and was a man of

great energy and no inconsiderable ability. I think he saw more clearly and appreciated more fully the magnitude the struggle was to assume, than any of the prominent men about him. Through the influence of the leading loyal citizens of Missouri he was elected a general officer of volunteers, and placed in command of that department.

He accepted the volunteers enrolled at St. Louis, amounting in May, about the 10th, to some ten or twelve thousand men, of which five regiments were enrolled for three months or the war, and the remainder as a reserve corps for the protection of the city. On the 10th of May, Lyon marched out and surrounded the encampment of State troops at Camp Jackson; and its commander, seeing the hopelessness of resistance, surrendered.

This encampment, although nominally a camp of instruction of the State militia, was in the interest of the rebellion, and had within its limits a portion of the stores taken from the United States arsenal at Baton Rouge, and many other evidences of its hostile intent. Its real object was to seize the arsenal at St. Louis; but Lyon's promptness frustrated this design. Its surrender struck consternation at the capital of the State, and Lyon's intention was to go immediately there and seize or disperse the State authorities; but the Federal powers thought he was going too fast, and he was superseded by Gen. Harney.

The State government continued the organization of its troops under the new militia-law, and rumors of invasion from Arkansas and Texas became rife. The loyal people throughout the State, and especially in the south-west, were clamorous for troops and protection; but Gen. Harney accepted the assurances of the State authorities that it was "all right," and did nothing to check the preparations of the Confederates. Finally, about the 1st of June, Lyon was restored to the command in Missouri. At a conference with the governor, held in St. Louis on the 12th, the governor demanded the withdrawal of the United

States troops from the State; this, of course, was refused by Lyon, who was aided in the conference by Col. F. P. Blair, Jr., a man of far-seeing sagacity and uncommon energy and nerve, — at that time the most potential citizen of the State. He was throughout all these early days the warm friend and adviser of Lyon, and assisted and strengthened him in every way. Later he distinguished himself as commander of the Seventeenth Corps, in the Army of the Tennessee. Gov. Jackson hurried back to his capital, burning the railway bridges over the Gasconade and Osage Rivers, and issued a proclamation calling upon the people of the State to rise and drive out the United States forces.

Gen. Lyon had started Sigel with a brigade of volunteers toward South-West Missouri, and on the 13th of June started with the First Regiment Missouri Volunteers, Totten's Battery, and two companies of regular infantry, by steamer, for Jefferson City, at which point he was to be joined by the Second Missouri Infantry, which had been sent by rail to Hermann, to take the steamer there. Arrived at Jefferson City, he found the place deserted by the State authorities; and so, on the 16th, he pushed on toward Boonville, where he met a slight resistance from the force assembled there by Gov. Jackson; but he easily routed them and took possession of the town, which he regarded as of great strategic importance.

Jackson fled to South-West Missouri, gathering reënforcements as he went, Sterling Price being in command as major-general. Here Lyon remained until about the 3d of July, when he started for Springfield with about twenty-three hundred men, and was joined *en route* by Sturgis, from Fort Leavenworth, with a force of about twenty-two hundred men, regulars and Kansas volunteers. Lyon arrived at Springfield on the 13th of July, where he was joined by a force of some fifteen hundred or two thousand irregular troops, under Gen. Sweeney.

Sigel, who had pushed out as far as Carthage, below

Springfield, had met the enemy in superior numbers, and had been repulsed, was retreating toward Springfield, where he also joined Lyon in a few days.

From this recital it appears how hastily Gen. Lyon took the field, and how unprepared he was in all those essentials regarded by military men as imperatively necessary for successful operations. His troops had only been organized in April and May, from citizens unused to military life or principles, with an improvised commissariat, and a quartermaster's department destitute of nearly all the stores and property usually furnished by that department. Indeed, the government was in those early days so unprepared for war that it was necessary for the wealthy citizens of St. Louis to guarantee payment from the United States to the contractors who were furnishing the officers of the army.

It is true the Confederates were nearly as badly off, but they had decided advantages in many respects, and not less in the fact that they had the sympathy and active aid of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the country in which they were operating.

Lyon's troops numbered about seven thousand; but, owing to lack of transportation, it had been impossible to accumulate supplies at Springfield, and the men were almost naked, without shoes, and without coffee and sugar, compelled to depend upon the country for subsistence, the wet weather and bad roads preventing the farmers from threshing their grain and hauling it to the army. In truth, Lyon's force was in a pitiable plight: and, to add to all this, the volunteers — mostly three-months men — had left their families ill-supplied, and having received no pay, were unable to relieve their necessities, and were unwilling to renew their enlistment, and some two thousand had to be sent back for muster-out.

The numbers of the Confederates, meanwhile, had been greatly augmented (by disaffected Missourians) in the retreat

from Boonville, so that Price's army was equal in numbers to Lyon's force; and McCulloch, with a division of Louisiana and Texas troops, was in easy reach, as were also some Arkansas brigades under Pearce and McBride.

Gen. Lyon made urgent appeals for reënforcements and supplies, feeling that if he could move forward at once and succeed in bringing the enemy to an engagement, he would gain an easy victory. His appeals were made in the most emphatic manner, but received no favorable response, while his opponents were daily gaining strength in men and material from the South.

By the 1st of August it was apparent the advanced position at Springfield could not long be maintained, and the question of retreat was considered.

Encumbered with a large wagon-train, and embarrassed by the presence of fugitive inhabitants, who would abandon their homes when no longer protected by the presence of the army, it was apparent that a retreat of one hundred miles, over a broken country, and in the face of an overwhelming force, greatly preponderating in cavalry, would be, to say the least, extremely hazardous.

From the best information obtainable, the Confederate design was to move upon Springfield in three different columns, by the routes leading from Cassville, Harrisonville, and Greenfield; and Gen. Lyon determined to await their approach to within two days' march of his position, and then move out and attack the strongest column, and in the event of success, to turn and strike the others in detail.

Accordingly he concentrated his forces, on the night of the 1st, on the Cassville Road, at the crossing of Wilson's Creek, twelve miles from Springfield; and the next day had a skirmish at Dug Springs, about twenty-three miles from Springfield, with the advance brigade of the Confederates, under Rains. This affair was fought by two companies of the Second Infantry, under Capt. Frederick Steele; a detachment of unassigned recruits, — about eighty men, —

under Lieut. W. L. Lothrop, Fourth Artillery; Capt. Totten's Battery, of six pieces; a section of Capt. Schaeffer's Battery, of Sigel's Brigade (volunteers); and a squadron of cavalry under Capt. D. S. Stanley. The skirmish was very brisk, and the numbers of the enemy enabled them to overlap the flanks of our troops, and at one time a large detachment pressed the right flank of the infantry so seriously as to threaten the envelopment of the line, when some of the cavalrymen under Stanley, who were at the time unemployed spectators of the unequal contest, gave vent to their feelings in a shout for a charge. About one platoon started for the enemy, and Lieut. Michael J. Kelly, of the First Cavalry, seeing the men going without an officer, rode gallantly to their head and led the charge into the enemy's ranks, notwithstanding Capt. Stanley had the recall sounded several times to bring them back. This cavalry charge was so impetuous, and the few men fought with such desperation, that it threw the Confederates into confusion; and with the aid of a strong artillery fire they were driven from the field, having suffered considerable loss.

Kelly's little command was severely handled too, losing, however, only five men out of twenty-seven; one of the sergeants, Sullivan, afterwards a lieutenant, was not only wounded, but his horse received no less than fifteen balls in his body.

The next day Lyon encountered a small force of Rains's men at Curran, some three miles from Dug Springs, but they fled at the first fire of artillery, and our troops moved on to McCullough's store, a portion advancing two miles beyond without finding the enemy in force. It was too late in the day to reach the Confederate position, supposed to be on Crane Creek, and make an attack that night; and hence our troops went into bivouac.

It was now apparent that Price's purpose was to occupy us by demonstrations leading us further and further from

our base, while he concentrated his forces, by forced marches, to fight us on ground of his own choosing. Gen. Lyon therefore called a council of the principal officers, and it was determined to return to Springfield.

The retrograde movement was made without molestation, but the men suffered terribly from the heat of a burning August sun, and many marched with bleeding feet for lack of shoes. The troops were grouped about Springfield on the evening of the 5th. The Confederates followed slowly, and took up position at Wilson's Creek, twelve miles out from the town, on the 6th.

From the 6th to the 9th was occupied in marches and countermarches by both sides. The large number of mounted men on the side of the Confederates enabled them to harrass us continually and elude punishment, while the excited inhabitants were constantly bringing in the most extravagant rumors, that forbade rest. Lyon's peril was hourly increasing, and there was no promise of aid or succor. The time had passed when he could have fallen back without molestation.

His enemy was close upon him, with a clear perception of his superiority in numbers, and with a large body of cavalry, thoroughly acquainted with every road and by-path; while Lyon would be impeded by a large train and a mass of refugees, and had only a few companies of mounted men to oppose the preponderance of the Confederates in that arm. His opinion, shared by all his principal officers, was that only one course was left to him, — to strike a hard blow at the enemy, and before he could recover from it, retire to Rolla.

At a council of war held on the morning of the 9th, it was determined to move that night, with the whole force, upon the left flank of the Confederates, and deal as severe a blow as possible on the following morning. But during the afternoon, Col. Sigel, who was ambitious to distinguish himself in a separate command, prevailed upon Gen.

Lyon to so far modify his plan as to permit Sigel, with his brigade, about fifteen hundred strong, to move against the right flank of the enemy and make a simultaneous attack.

It seems McCulloch had contemplated a similar effort against Lyon, and given orders for a night-march on the 9th, to attack Lyon in Springfield on the 10th, before he should be aware of his approach, but had abandoned the project on account of the rain and the darkness. His force now numbered about fifteen hundred men. Gen. Lyon, however, started at dark to carry his plans into execution. Sigel proceeded down the Cassville Road, while Lyon, with the main body, about thirty-eight hundred men, with Totten's and Du Bois's Batteries, ten pieces, moved out the Little York Road to a point nearly opposite the enemy's advanced pickets on Wilson's Creek, and thence across the prairie to attack the left flank.

The troops bivouacked about midnight.

The ground held by the Confederates was quite advantageous as a defensive position; on the left bank of the stream was an open corn-field, surrounded by a dense chaparral, which grew down to the banks of the stream, and beyond the field abrupt hills, while on the right bank was a succession of sloping ridges, intersected by ravines and all covered by timber and dense undergrowth. The main camp of the Confederates was in the valley, along the main Cassville Road. The creek was fordable at all points, but in places the banks were steep and high. At a little before daylight Gen. Lyon resumed his march, and struck the first picket of the enemy at five o'clock. It fled at his approach.

Capt. Plummer, with his two hundred and fifty regular infantry, was thrown out on our extreme left; two companies of the First Missouri were deployed as skirmishers on the centre; and Osterhaus, with his two companies of the Second Missouri, were thrown out on the right. The

First Missouri deployed in the centre in support of Totten's Battery, followed by the rest of the troops in column.

Crossing a ravine on the slope of the opposite hill, Lyon's skirmishers met a brisk fire, but advanced rapidly, driving the enemy before them with ease. Plummer crossed Wilson's Creek and entered the corn-field, where he soon became hotly engaged. The other troops reached the crest of the ridge they had been ascending, driving the enemy from his position. The First Missouri and Osterhaus's battalion pressed on into the valley between the two sloping ridges, and there encountered a large body of fresh troops Price had succeeded in bringing up. Here an unequal contest was waged for some time: the First Kansas was put in on the left, and Totten's Battery came in by section and by piece, as the nature of the ground and the dense undergrowth would permit, and played upon the enemy's lines with terrible effect.

The First Iowa and Second Kansas were successively brought into action, — the former on the left, and the latter in support of the right; while Steele's battalion of regulars and Osterhaus's two companies of Second Missouri Volunteers were put as a support to Du Bois's Battery, on the crest of the hill, and overlooking the corn-field in which Plummer was fighting.

The Confederates, having such vastly superior numbers, brought up fresh troops repeatedly, and made violent assaults upon our line, appearing often in three or four ranks, — lying down, kneeling, and standing, — the lines often approaching to within forty yards, and every available man in Lyon's command was brought into action. In many places the troops were forced back a few paces, and sometimes the sections of Totten's Battery, interspersed throughout the lines, were left without support; but for an instant only, as the men soon rallied and pressed forward with renewed vigor, until they gained ground clear into the valley, when the Confederates gave way in confusion, and

left us masters of the position. In this stirring and exciting contest Gen. Lyon was wounded, and had his horse shot from under him; General (then Major) Schofield's horse was killed him, and mine was struck by a spent ball, which, however, did not place him *hors de combat*. On the left, and across the creek, Plummer had been ordered to advance to the prolongation of our line, but the stubborn resistance he met with had prevented his progress. On his orders being repeated, he made a desperate charge into the corn and woods beyond; but meeting overwhelming numbers, was forced to retire with considerable loss, was wounded himself, and his force was only saved from annihilation by the well-served guns of Du Bois's Battery on the hill overlooking him. Plummer says, in his report, he fought over two thousand men with his two hundred and fifty regular infantry, for upwards of an hour. Du Bois's shells drove the Confederates in disorder from Plummer's front.

There was now a temporary cessation, and Gen. Lyon set about readjusting his forces. He was afoot, had been twice wounded, — once in the head, and again in the leg, — and the manifest superiority in numbers of the enemy filled him with gloom, if not with despair. He remarked that he feared the day was lost, but was reassured by the officers about him; and receiving a fresh mount from Major Sturgis, rode up to the top of the hill, where the heavy fighting first began, and on one spur of which Du Bois's Battery was posted. Besides what appeared in our immediate surroundings, we had failed to perceive any result from Sigel's movement; nor, indeed, had we any word from him.

About simultaneously with our attack, an artillery fire was opened about two miles in our front, and about the point from which Col. Sigel was to make his attack. This fire was answered from the opposite side of the valley, and at a greater distance from us, the line of fire of the two bat-

teries being nearly perpendicular to our own. About ten or twelve shots were exchanged, and the firing ceased.

About half-past eight o'clock a brisk cannonading was heard for a few minutes, about a mile to the right of that heard before; and when it ceased we had no further hearing from Sigel during that day, except when the enemy turned his ammunition to account against us, which we knew by the improvement in their practice and difference in projectiles.

It is necessary here to recount that officer's part in the day's work, and it is alike interesting and instructive.

Col. Sigel marched down the Cassville Road, substantially, until near the enemy's camp, when he made a *détour* to the southward, and then turned, striking the enemy's position about the crossing of Wilson's Creek. In his progress he succeeded in capturing all their pickets and advance-guards, so that his attack was a complete surprise.

He planted his battery on a commanding eminence, advanced his infantry in line toward the crossing of the creek, and opened fire upon the unsuspecting camps of the Confederates about the same time as the first musketry firing began on Lyon's front, — about half-past five. The opening fire of Sigel's guns spread consternation in the camp, and the Confederates fled in wild confusion, and Sigel's infantry pressed forward into the deserted camps. The Confederates made a slight attempt to rally, but were again dispersed by the artillery fire, and Sigel's men set to plundering the camp and securing the horses tied to the fences.

The firing on Lyon's front, distinctly heard by Sigel, had increased to a roar, and he knew the main body was hotly engaged. Sigel endeavored to form his troops, and placed his artillery on a plateau, with his infantry on the right and left, crossing the road. Many fugitives passing his position, and large bodies of the enemy moving south from the front of Lyon, along the ridge opposite Sigel's

right, gave him the impression that Lyon had been successful, and the enemy was in full retreat. When, at half-past eight, there was a lull in the firing on Lyon's front, Sigel became convinced of the correctness of his conjecture, and looked for an immediate junction from the direction in which the firing had been.

But the Confederates, taking advantage of the unpreparedness of Sigel's troops, rallied against him, and opened fire from two batteries, — one in his front, and one from a hill to his right, — which resulted in a panic of wild "confusion and frightful consternation:" Sigel's men claiming that the infantry which advanced against them were mistaken for Lyon's men, and that even after the advancing column had opened fire upon them they refused to believe them enemies, until it was too late, and these were upon them in overwhelming numbers.

It should be borne in mind here that the Confederates had no distinctive uniform: the troops under McCulloch were in the Confederate gray, but the Missourians were chiefly in "butternut;" and even among our own troops there was a variety of dress, — the First Iowa wearing gray, and Sigel's troops a dull grayish shirt, trimmed with red, — so that later in the fight Lyon's column mistook a body of the enemy for Sigel's men, as they were advancing from the direction in which he should come to join us.

When the panic seized Sigel's troops, he and about seventeen mounted officers and men, including the field-officers of his regiment, fled to the southward, and making a wide *détour*, found their way back to Springfield, arriving about two o'clock, P. M. Lieut. Farrand, commanding the regular cavalry which had accompanied Sigel's column, gathered the fragments, about seven hundred men, and dismounting troopers, made up the team to one piece from the battery, struck out into the woods, and passing clear around both armies, came into our rear on the Little York Road, where he joined us about five o'clock, P. M., on our

return to Springfield. The remaining five guns of Sigel's Battery fell into the hands of the enemy.

We now return to Gen. Lyon's front. It was his object to concentrate his forces on the crest of the ridge he had passed over, and in more compact form await developments. While the troops were taking their new positions, a body of the Confederates appeared on our left, and Maj. Schofield formed eight companies of the First Iowa in line and led them to meet this advancing line, which, with the aid of the guns of Du Bois's Battery, he gallantly repulsed. As he led this charge, Gen. Lyon, accompanied by myself and a few mounted men, followed the right flank a short distance, when our attention was arrested by a line drawn up in the timber, perpendicular to the Iowa regiment, and nearly hidden by the cover.

Some horsemen were in advance, and we challenged each other. I suggested to Gen. Lyon to let me bring up the Second Kansas, to which he assented; and urging him not to expose himself unnecessarily till I got up the troops, I rode off. He joined two companies of the First Iowa, who had been detached from the regiment and were observing that gap in our line. The men complained that they had no one to lead them in the fight, and he promised to lead them himself. When the Second Kansas came up he formed the two companies on its left, and himself led the charge. Before I could pass through the ranks and join him he received a fatal wound, and was brought to me dead. I took every precaution to secure his body, and to prevent the knowledge of his death from reaching the soldiers. His death was known to but very few, and those seemed to fight with redoubled vigor.

The struggle on the left lasted about a half-hour after Lyon's fall, when the Confederates fled, leaving the field clear as far as we could see, and almost total silence reigned for about thirty minutes, during which a body of the enemy's cavalry, which had found its way around our right, came in upon our right rear. A few discharges from a

section of Totten's Battery sent them flying in dismay from the field.

As soon as the Confederates began to give way, and it was apparent the field was ours, at least for the present, Maj. Sturgis assumed command, and a consultation was had as to the course to be pursued. No news had been received from Sigel, and it was a perplexing question whether to pursue the enemy without knowing whether we should receive support from Sigel, should attempt to join him by the left, or should withdraw from the field. At this time a force of infantry moved from the direction in which Sigel's cannonading had been, and advanced in column toward the front of our left wing. These troops wore a dress resembling that of Sigel's men, and carried the United States flag. So impressed were all that this was Siegel's Brigade, that preparations were begun to move to the left and front and join him. Meanwhile the column moved down the hill, within easy reach of our artillery, but was unmolested until it had reached the covered position at the foot of the ridge on which we were posted, and from which we had been so fiercely assailed before. Suddenly a battery on the hill in our front began to pour upon us shrapnel and cannister, species of projectiles the Confederates had not used before, and at the same time the enemy showed his true colors, and commenced along our entire line the fiercest and most bloody engagement of the day.

Du Bois's Battery, on our left, supported by Osterhaus's two companies and the fragments of the First Missouri, silenced the enemy's battery and repulsed the right wing of his infantry. Totten's Battery, in the centre, supported by the First Iowa and the regulars, was the main point of attack. Many times the Confederate infantry were within thirty feet of his guns, and the smoke of the opposing lines was often so blended as to seem but one.

Our troops maintained their ground with firmness; for the first time during the day, there was no disposition to

give way manifested at any point, and finally the Confederates gave way and fled the field.

Just before the close of the engagement, the Second Kansas, having exhausted its ammunition, was ordered to retire. This left our right exposed, and the Confederates renewed the attack at that point after it had ceased on the other part of the line, but was met by Steele's two companies of the Second Infantry, which had just driven the enemy from the right of the centre, and after a sharp engagement the Confederates were driven precipitately from the field.

Thus closed, at about half-past eleven o'clock, an almost uninterrupted conflict of six hours.

At the close of the battle, Du Bois's Battery and its supports moved into position on the next hill in rear: and shortly after, Maj. Sturgis retired with the remainder of the troops, passing this position, when those troops also followed, and we moved to the open ground, about two miles and a half toward Springfield, where we halted, and our ambulances and wagons passed back and forth, bringing off the wounded. Several of the officers rode over a large portion of the field and found no enemy, and Capt. Granger urged our occupying it; but in our crippled condition it was deemed unwise. So we continued our movement to Springfield. When we arrived at the Little York Road we were joined by Farrand with the remnants of Sigel's command; but before leaving the field, and while discussing his probable fate, one of Sigel's men came in and reported his disaster.

By some unfortunate mistake, Gen. Lyon's body was left on the field, and it was not known until we were some distance away; when Lieut. Canfield and his company of cavalry were sent back for it, and brought it into headquarters in the town.

I fear you are already weary; but there is little more to add.

Arrived at Springfield, a council was held, and it was

determined to retire to Rolla before the Confederates could recover and renew the contest. We know now he had not stopped short of twelve miles from the battle-ground, but we did not then know how seriously he was crippled. He greatly outnumbered us originally, and still had the same preponderance of cavalry. We were in no condition to hold such an advanced position without hope of speedy reënforcement, and of this we had no promise.

The command was given to Col. Sigel, and orders given for the retreat to begin at two o'clock the next morning. All the troops were in readiness at the appointed time except Sigel's, and the rest of the column was kept waiting until that brigade, which was to form the advance, passed out. This was delayed until they got their breakfast, and did not occur until four o'clock, and it was past six o'clock before the rear-guard could leave the town. The same order of march was preserved for three days, with a recurrence of the vexatious delays waiting for Sigel's men. Notwithstanding the fact of his marching seven miles farther than the other troops the first day, his men were only just up when we reached his camp the following morning. The same troops were required to do the fatiguing duties of rear-guard, in spite of all remonstrances. At length, after numerous entreaties from his officers, followed by a council, Maj. Sturgis assumed command, — giving as his reason, that although Col. Sigel had been for a long time acting as an officer of the army, he had no commission nor appointment from any competent authority.

From incipient mutiny and anarchy we were transformed into an orderly body of soldiers, and the retreat to Rolla was continued without interruption or incident.

It is proper to add that Col. Sigel made a protest to Washington against the assumption of Maj. Sturgis and the other officers, and it was decided that, having been duly accepted and mustered in as a colonel of volunteers, by an authorized officer of the United States, he was entitled to that rank and command.

PUBLICATIONS

OF

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ST. LOUIS.

NOS. II. AND III.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A SEPTUAGENARIAN.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS, BY WM. WALDO, OF TEXAS, MARCH, 1880.

[NOTE. — Silas Bent, a native of Massachusetts, and who was one of the party that threw the British tea into Boston harbor, by his wife, Mary Carter, had seven children: Silas, Polly, Susan, Nahum, Abner, Daniel, and Dorcas. Silas, the eldest, was born 1768. He emigrated to Ohio in 1788. He was a lawyer by profession. After holding consecutively the offices of postmaster, surveyer, and judge of a court, he removed to St. Louis in 1806, having been commissioned deputy-surveyor of Upper Louisiana by Albert Gallatin. He was subsequently appointed judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and of the Court of Quarter Sessions, auditor of public accounts, and last, presiding judge of the United States Superior Court. He died at St. Louis in 1827. By his marriage with Martha Kerr, a Virginia lady, he had issue: Charles, Julia Ann, John, Lucy, Dorcas, William, Mary, George, Robert, Edward, and Silas. The Bents spoken of by Mr. Waldo were his sons. — O. W. COLLET.]

I propose to give, in several papers, my recollections of persons and events during a period of somewhat more than fifty years. With but few exceptions, the persons of whom I shall speak are dead; their names and their deeds have become part of the history of the Plains and of the Rocky Mountains. My memory is clear and fresh; and to recall those I knew and with whom I acted in the past, and the incidents of an active and adventurous career, is, for the moment at least, almost to live life over again.

In this paper I shall speak chiefly, but not exclusively, of the Bents. I do not set out to give a connected narrative, but I do aim to present only trustworthy statements.

I knew the brilliant and talented John Bent, well; and fifty years ago, heard men whose opinions were worth something say that John Bent was one of the most talented young men that Missouri had ever produced. Charles Bent and my brother David Waldo were partners in trading and trapping at a very early period, and together fought hard and unequal battles: in one case where the odds were twenty to one against them. In the conspiracy in which Charles Bent — then governor of New Mexico — fell, my brother Lawrence Waldo (the father of Henry L. Waldo, late chief justice of New Mexico) also fell; Stephen Lee, a brother-in-law of Jesse Lindell, one of St. Louis's millionaires, was also murdered in this conspiracy. Elliott Lee, another brother-in-law, and who at one time represented St. Louis in the State Senate, was rescued from massacre at this time by Father Martinez, the priest at Taos. Fifty-one years ago I saw William Bent, on a tall, black mule, with both its ears split, — that being the tribal mark of the Comanches, — in a John Gilpin race, his being involuntary, with a long string of Comanches on fleet horses in pursuit. Many steel-pointed arrows passed near him, as cards of invitation to stop and surrender his scalp. At a point of rising ground, when the race was nearly ended, Jacob Coates, an old hunter, and myself, appeared on the elevation immediately in front of the racers, the nature of the ground concealing our numbers. The Indians halted, and William passed into the battle going on between Capt. Charles Bent and the Indians, with vastly superior numbers. But Charles was equal to almost any emergency, and no doubt possessed superior military abilities. The contest continued for about forty days, our party all the time travelling. One hundred and twenty Mexicans joined us, for their own protection. We had but about sixty men. The famous Ewing Young heard of our situation, and also that two thousand warriors of various tribes had combined,

and had taken a strong position in a cañon in the mountains, which we could not avoid. He first attempted to come to our assistance with forty hunters, but was attacked and driven back. Here the boy Kit Carson gained his first laurels. Young returned to Taos, and other companies having returned from their yearly trapping, he increased his force to ninety-five hunters, and, after one engagement, joined us.

I recall another circumstance connected with the mountain experience of William Bent. In the winter of 1830–31, William Bent, Robert Isaacs, and another young man made a trapping expedition west of New Mexico. While wandering through that vast wilderness in search of beaver, they were attacked by a body of Indians numbering from one hundred and fifty to two hundred warriors. Before the Indians charged, these men had time to throw up some loose stones as a kind of breastwork or defence. Bent assumed the command, and the battle went on with scarcely any intermission for two days.

On the part of the "army" of three there were no random shots. At every charge of the Indians their leaders fell. At the close of the second day the enemy retired, to the inexpressible relief of the besieged, as they had been without water for about three days. All men, or all soldiers, are aware of the thirst created by the excitement of battle. George Bent I knew, but not so intimately as Charles and William.

The soil of the plains and the Rocky Mountains has been fertilized by the blood of the sons of many of the best families of St. Louis and Missouri. Four of its governors were mountain traders. One of its congressmen was a noted mountaineer. Gov. Marmaduke, in company with Milton Sublett, the "Thunderbolt of the Rocky Mountains," and five others, seven in all, had a deadly conflict with one hundred and fifty Comanches, west of the Arkan-

sas River, fifty-two years ago. Gen. Boggs, also in command of a party at a subsequent period, was only saved from annihilation by the heroic courage of Dr. Craig and Hamilton Carson, a brother of Kit. The Indians charged through the camp, completely surprising the guard. The governor, in rushing to the rescue of the guard, in the extreme darkness ran against an object which threw him to the ground with such force as to render him incapable of action, and probably all would have been killed had it not been for the deliberate courage of the two men above mentioned. Capt. Pratte, of the respectable and early French family of St. Louis of that name, mingled his dust with the sands of the Gila River fifty-four years since. I believe he was the brother of Bernard Pratte, who figured as a St. Louis politician nearly half a century ago. My young friend Alexander Papin fell on the Arkansas River, long, long ago. The seat of justice of Bates County, Missouri, was named for this respectable French family. Antoine Chenié, who married Miss Pratte, of the family just named, and myself, had a thrilling adventure together when he was a very young man. I have not seen him since that journey. He may have sons and daughters yet living in St. Louis, fifty years old. If so, may the Lord bless them, for their father was my friend.

Mr. Eustace, a brother-in-law of George Collier, and cousin, by marriage, to the Hon. J. L. D. Morrison, of St. Louis; Capt. Carr, who had served under Gen. Andrew Jackson in his wars; Washington Chapman, of Boonville, a brother-in-law of Col. James Collins, who established the first newspaper ever published in New Mexico, and who was afterwards murdered in New Mexico in a manner very similar to the New York Nathan murder, — in company with a number of others, in all twelve or fifteen, — left Santa Fé for St. Louis in the winter of 1832–3, in possession of a large amount of gold and silver. They selected the route by the way of the Canadian Fork of the Arkansas, and supposed

they could avoid hostile Indians by making the trip in the winter season. The sequel shows that they were sadly disappointed.

They were attacked by an overwhelming number of Indians; in a few moments every mule was shot down, and part of their little force killed. The survivors dug rifle-pits, or holes in the ground, and made breast-works of their dead mules, saddles, and baggage. Thus protected, they held their position under a hail-storm of arrows and balls, until conquered by thirst. On a dark night, after supplying themselves with an abundance of powder and ball, and each with a few dollars in his pocket from the piles of gold and silver all around them, they silently stole out of their little fort, and directed their course over the limitless plains towards the settlements of Arkansas. The Indians did not follow them, and probably did not wish to, as they were soon more profitably employed in contending over the hoards of dollars and doubloons left by the retreating foe. The sufferings of these men were only surpassed by those of the unfortunate Donner company in the deep snows of the Sierra Nevada Mountains in 1846. For sixteen days their only food was wild beans, and such roots and insects as they could find. Some gave up the ghost in despair. A man by the name of Harris, of great physical endurance, left the others unable to travel, and went forward; finding a camp of Creek Indians on a hunting excursion, he returned with temporary relief to his exhausted and desponding companions. I had entered the Indian Nation not far from where they reached the settlements, from the same starting-point, and hearing of their circumstances, I hastened to their relief; but they had already found friends at Fort Gibson, and had left by steamer, by the way of the Arkansas River, for St. Louis.

I have been more minute in this account for the reason that the friends of Mr. Eustace reside in St. Louis and the vicinity. The dust of John Langham, a member of the

noted Rector and Langham families of early St. Louis, enriches the soil of the Cimaron: and I believe the son of the third governor of Missouri, McNair, also occupies a lonely grave on the green plains, with many others that I could name.

I referred to Charles and William Bent, in connection with an Indian battle in which we were mutually engaged. As the commander of that expedition, though born in Virginia, was brought up in St. Louis from early childhood, and as the war with the Comanches, which has continued, with short intermissions, up to the present time, began only in the year previous, I have thought that a more minute account of this transaction than I have already given, and of the hostile demonstrations of these Indians towards various parties on the plains, might prove not uninteresting. Up to the time named, the Comanches had always been on the most amicable terms with the traders and trappers.

ORIGIN OF HOSTILITIES WITH THE COMANCHES.

Hostilities originated in the following manner: Two men went forward some miles in advance of their company, and from the position in which they were afterwards discovered, it seems that they had lain down and had fallen asleep. When the company came up they were found dead, and from every appearance they had been murdered by Indians. The names of these men were Monroe and McNiece. The latter was the uncle, or half-uncle of Gov. John C. Edwards; also of Judge Livingston Edwards, of Jefferson City; also of Judge Edwards, of Greene County, Missouri. The creek on which these gentlemen were murdered has been known as McNiece's Creek since that time.

A few days after this occurrence, about twenty Comanches rode up to this company with signs of friendship. The company fired on the Indians, and killed the most of them. From that day to this the Comanches have waged war against the whites. Previous to that time, as I have said,

they had been remarkably kind and friendly to the pale-faces. In Le Grand's disastrous expedition from New Orleans to Santa Fé, in 1826, in which he lost thirty-five or forty men on the plains, or more than half of his whole number, by thirst and starvation, the Comanches found several of his men in a dying condition, carried them to their camps, fed and clothed them, and afterwards conveyed them to Santa Fé, where they delivered them to the Mexican authorities without ransom. There was another company, under the command of Capt. Means, of Howard County, Missouri, fifteen or twenty days in the rear of the company that fired upon the Indians. This party, being ignorant of what had occurred in advance of them, and of the hostility of the Indians, who had before been so friendly, were entirely unprepared to meet and guard against the calamities which soon overwhelmed them. A large band of Indians was encamped upon the road which the caravan was travelling. The company, supposing them to be friendly, as they had been a few months before, rode in amongst them, when to their utter surprise the Indians commenced firing upon them. Capt. Means and several others fell dead at the first discharge. The mules and horses which did not stampede and run away were all shot down. The remainder of the men entrenched and fortified themselves, as the Eustace party did four or five years later. Here they remained until they nearly perished with thirst. On a dark night they abandoned their little fort, — I might say, "fort of despair," — each man loading himself with all the money that he could carry.

They clung to their hoards with the tenacity of life, until they became so weak and exhausted by starvation that they could bear their beloved treasure no further, when they buried it in the sands west of the Arkansas River. We found this money the following year, without a dollar missing. A stout Englishman packed seventeen hundred silver dollars to the last, and declared that he would only surrender

his money with his life. From starvation, the greater part of the company became unable to travel.

Two men of great constitutional endurance, one Thomas Ellison, of Cooper County, Missouri, and the other, Bryant, of Boone County, Missouri, went forward towards the settlements. At Council Grove, about one hundred and sixty miles from Independence, Missouri, they were so fortunate as to shoot a buzzard or a crow, which was probably the means of saving the lives of the greater part of their companions; for, more like walking skeletons than living men, they reached the settlements, or met a hunting-party, and obtained relief for their perishing comrades. One man, named Herriman, had become blind from the extremity of his sufferings, but he still retained his consciousness; when found, he was lying on his back, with a stick in his hand, endeavoring to beat off the prairie wolves by which he was surrounded, and which were trying to eat him. This man's grandchildren resided some years ago in Chariton County, Missouri. I think the descendants of Mr. Bryant yet live in or about Columbia, Missouri.

Col. Marmaduke, of Saline County, and afterwards governor of Missouri, was, I believe, a member of the company which fired upon the Indians; also the famous William Sublett, the grandson of the renowned Col. Whitley, of Kentucky, who, the majority of Kentuckians claimed, killed Tecumseh, instead of Col. Johnson, although Johnson received the credit, which made him vice-president of the United States. Johnson himself, however, never claimed the honor of killing the great Indian chief. The bodies of Whitley and Tecumseh were found in close proximity to each other.

Wm. L. Sublett, the brother of Milton, was the founder of the great commercial house of Robert and Hugh Campbell, of St. Louis. Col. Marmaduke was the father of Gen. Marmaduke of the Confederate army.

A few days after firing upon the twenty Indians, Col.

Marmaduke, Milton Sublett, a Mr. Taylor, and four others, while out hunting, had an encounter with one hundred and fifty or two hundred Indians, and were only saved from certain death by the skill and long experience of Milton Sublett in Indian warfare. The life and adventures of Milton Sublett would alone fill a large volume. William L., Milton, Saul, and Andrew Sublett were all early and noted mountaineers. William L. was a prudent, economical man, and died rich. The other three brothers were equally reckless of life and money.

The above narrative is preliminary to and explanatory of what follows. It was necessary, to understand the condition of things on the plains in the spring of 1829, or I should not have given it; for it is exceedingly laborious for me to write, unless my brain is excited: then my whole life passes before me like a panorama, and my ideas flow much faster than I can write them down. And I wish it to be borne in mind that I never kept a memorandum or diary, but write entirely from memory, and of course have forgotten many interesting facts connected with the Rocky and Sierra Nevada Mountains and the plains and deserts; for my wanderings have extended from Central America to Oregon, and from the Gulf of Mexico to Minnesota. I have stated in a letter published, relating to the Hood family, that I believed myself the only one then living of all the hunters who went out from St. Louis between 1820 and 1830, except Col. Robert Campbell, of whose death I had not heard at that time. Mr. Campbell was a much younger man than I had supposed.

I think it not inappropriate to mention a little episode that occurred on board of a steamboat on the Ohio River thirty-two years ago, which illustrates the amiable character of Mrs. Campbell. On a cold, dark night a man fell overboard, and cried for help as he floated down the stream, until his voice was hushed in death. I attempted to go to his rescue, but they would not let me have the boat lashed

to the steamer. Mrs. Campbell wept for the poor stranger as if he had been her brother. Although I had never spoken to her, this manifestation of sympathy for the misfortunes of that dying man inspired me with a high respect for this most estimable lady.

After the disasters to the Santa Fé and mountain caravans of 1828, few men were disposed to hazard their lives and fortunes on the plains. In the following year of 1829, however, some more daring spirits concluded to make the venture, as the fewer the traders the greater the profit. These gentlemen, amongst whom were Charles Bent, who had spent some years in the Rocky Mountains; Samuel Lamb, a wealthy merchant; David Waldo, who had crossed the plains the previous year, he and Col. Marmaduke being messmates (he ever after retained the highest esteem and regard for Col. M.), and others, applied to Andrew Jackson, who had just been inaugurated president, for a military escort to accompany them to the Arkansas River, then the dividing line between the United States and the republic of Mexico. The patriotic old hero granted their request, and ordered Maj. Bennett Riley, afterwards Gen. Riley, and military governor of California, and as brave and noble a man as ever bore a commission, to report at Fort Leavenworth, and hold himself and two hundred men in readiness to accompany the Santa Fé caravan, on notification of their departure. The company rendezvoused at Round Grove, forty miles west of the present town or city of Independence, Missouri.

On the proposal of Dr. David Waldo, Capt. Charles Bent was unanimously chosen captain of the company, consisting of about sixty men, and thirty-six wagons freighted with goods. Maj. Riley joined us at the junction of the roads leading from Independence and Fort Leavenworth.

Nothing occurred worthy of note until we arrived at Chouteau's Island, on the Arkansas River. Here we bade

farewell to Maj. Riley and his escort, and crossed from the United States into Mexican territory.

We travelled through the deep sands of the west bank of the Arkansas for nine miles, apprehending no danger. It was nearly impossible to keep the wagons closed up together, in consequence of the depth of the sand and the stalling of many teams, and our train was extended over a space of more than half a mile. Capt. Bent had thrown out sixteen men in advance and rear, to guard against surprise; but, notwithstanding his prudent precautions, our surprise was complete. The Indians had concealed themselves and their horses in deep ravines, and seemed to spring out of the ground like swarms of locusts. Their numbers were variously estimated at from five hundred to two thousand.

It was owing to Capt. Bent's great ability as a military commander that a man remained alive. I saw Charles Bent charge alone and check fifty Indians that had killed one man and were in close pursuit of another. It was in this surprise that this gallant act occurred. I can see him now as plainly as I saw him then, mounted on a large black horse, I think bare-headed, with his long black hair floating on the wind; and I as distinctly remember his words of defiance when he made the charge, as though it were but yesterday, although they were spoken more than half a century ago.

Capt. Bent was in possession of a small cannon,—the first, I suppose, that ever crossed the plains, unless Lewis and Clark carried one with them in 1804. As soon as the artillery was brought to bear upon them, the Indians fled in great consternation.

They would raise their heads above the hills and dodge back, like a timid man dodging a streak of lightning. As soon as Capt. Bent thought himself safe from attack, after entrenching or digging rifle-pits, he called for volunteers to carry an express to Maj. Riley. So many re-

sponded to the call that he had to select from the number. He dispatched nine men on this hazardous journey of nine miles, through the deep sands, most of them on mules. They stood in the position of Cortez after burning his ships, for they could not escape by flight on their slow, worn-down mules, and their only hope was in fighting to the death.

Does any one believe that such men as these would have fled, and abandoned the Prince Imperial to the mercy of savages? Although the hills were covered with Indians, they suffered the little band to pass unmolested. The generous and noble Riley saw them approaching in the distance, and at once understanding the cause, Jackson-like, assumed the responsibility of crossing the national boundary; and he had struck his tents and the advance company had entered the river before the message of Capt. Bent had reached him. His command approached so silently through the sand that although I, in company with another, was on picket-guard, they were not discovered by either of us until some moving object was perceived between ourselves and the entrenched camp.

We supposed ourselves cut off from the company by a large body of Indians, and were much relieved when a messenger came from the captain giving us permission to go to camp and to sleep.

Maj. Riley escorted us through the sand hills. This came very near proving fatal to our enterprise, as part of the company, deeming the danger too great to hazard life and property, determined to return under the protection of the government escort. This would have ruined all the traders; as the party, too weak for safety when united, divided could anticipate nothing but inevitable destruction.

One hired man applied to Maj. Riley for permission to enlist as a soldier. The Major inquired his reason for taking this step. He replied, that he was afraid to go on with the caravan. The Major informed him that he commanded soldiers, and not cowards. After much discussion, through

the influence of Capt. Bent, Dr. Waldo, Thomas Barnes, and others (Mr. Lamb, the most wealthy man of the company, having been killed in the battle just referred to), all consented to go forward. The sequel will show that Capt. Bent became, in turn, the reliever instead of the relieved. I have already given some of the incidents of this expedition, and will not repeat them here.

The Indians were encamped, it was said, two thousand strong, in a cañon on the road to Santa Fé. Therefore, after Capt. Young with his ninety-five hunters, who might be considered equal to five hundred inexperienced men, joined us, we abandoned the road to Santa Fé, and entered the settlements of New Mexico at Taos, eighty miles north of Santa Fé.

The danger from Indians was considered so great that the Mexican government granted us a military escort, under Gen. Viscarro.

On the Cimaron River a large band of Indians approached the escort, with an arrow tied across a spear, in the form of a cross, and proposed, if the Americans were sent off to some specified distance, to surrender their arms into Gen. Viscarro's hands, and encamp with him for the night. The general requested Capt. Bent to remove to a certain point. As soon as the Americans had reached a safe distance, the Indians commenced firing on the Mexicans, and instantly killed several of the officers. Capt. Bent heard the firing, and with the intuitive perception of an experienced Indian-fighter, at once divining the cause, rushed at the utmost speed to the relief of the escort, and saved them from a humiliating defeat, as they were taken so completely by surprise that they were utterly unprepared to defend themselves.

Here I wish to relate a noble and heroic act on the part of a Pablo Indian. Whilst Gen. Viscarro was talking to these Indians, a Pablo, who understood the language of the hostile band, discovered that they were in the act of firing,

and had singled out the general as one of the victims. He informed Viscarro of his danger, but he either did not hear or did not heed the warning. As the assassin fired, the Pablo sprang between him and his intended victim, and fell dead at his general's feet.

Permit me here to say a word as to my personal experience among Indians: I should know something about the Indians, for I have been more or less connected with them for more than fifty years. I have been rescued by them from death, and I have rescued them. I have been found exhausted and starving, and have been hospitably entertained by them. I have fallen sick amongst the wildest tribes in America, — so wild that they went utterly naked. I once remained among such a tribe for thirty days or more, much of the time unconscious. They would bring me cold water and wild berries, and try to cheer me up; and when I recovered they assembled to bid me farewell, and seemed to be much pained at parting with me. By the force of circumstances I have entered hostile bands, and although their bows were strung and their arrows set, no arrow pierced me.

I might write pages of hospitalities and kindnesses received at the hands of the Indians. The early mountaineers, who knew more of Indian character than any other class of men, were never unnecessarily cruel to them.

After the battle of the Cimaron, nothing occurred worth mentioning until the company arrived at the Arkansas River. Here they found that Maj. Riley, after waiting until he supposed that the caravan had remained in Mexico, or had all been killed, had left his encampment on the Arkansas about two days before their arrival at his abandoned quarters.

As Gen. Viscarro was anxious to meet an American officer, Capt. Bent sent an express to Maj. Riley, which overtook him about thirty miles from the Arkansas River. Here the major halted until the caravan and the Mexican

escort came up. At this encampment two days were spent in the mutual exchange of national and personal courtesies, drills, dress-parades, etc.; and, so far as I know, this was the first occasion on which the troops of the two republics had ever meet, or exchanged military courtesies.

It will be remembered that Spain invaded Mexico with a large army in 1829, and that the Mexican government issued an edict banishing all citizens of Spanish birth from the republic. Several of the wealthy and aristocratic families included in this banishment crossed the plains from Santa Fe to St. Louis that fall, under the protection of Capt. Bent and his caravan. I stated in the beginning of this paper, that after Maj. Riley had escorted the company through the sand hills he returned to his encampment on the east bank of the Arkansas River, where he was ordered to stay until the caravan returned from Mexico. Here he remained about three months, fighting Indians nearly all the time. He lost many of his men, and the greater part of his stock. One of his captains being sent out to hunt buffalo, in command of a large escort, fled and suffered his hunters to be killed by the Indians. He was afterwards court-martialed and dismissed from the army for cowardice. Capt. Bent and his small company first rescued Gen. Viscarro and his Mexican command of three hundred soldiers from destruction, and afterwards supplied Maj. Riley with stock to replace the animals captured from him by the Indians. Thus, as I said before, the relieved became the reliever of both national escorts. Now, will any one say that this young captain, reared in the little French village of St. Louis, was not a man of splendid nerve and power, and, as I have always believed, a military genius of no ordinary character? His caution was equal to his valor. He seldom trusted the safety of his command to others, but at all hours of the night he would visit the guard and pickets, in order to satisfy himself that every man was awake and at his post.

From the time we parted from Maj. Riley, at the western terminus of the Arkansas sand hills, until we were met by Ewing Young and his ninety-five hunters, we seldom obtained more than three or four hours' sleep out of the twenty-four; men became so worn down with toil by day, and watching by night that they would go to sleep and fall from their mules as they rode along. For forty or fifty days we were not permitted to take off our clothes or boots at night, and all slept with their pistols belted around them and their guns in their arms. In several instances men seized their knives in their sleep and struck them into the ground, and the men became afraid to sleep together, for fear of killing each other in their sleep.

If this little narrative interests no one else, it is at least a tribute to the memory of my first and ablest commander.

BENT'S FORT ESTABLISHED.

I believe it was in 1833 that Messrs. Bent and St. Vrain built Fort William, or, as it was subsequently called, Bent's Fort, on the Arkansas River. This afterwards became classic ground, from the many important events which occurred there. Here the United States troops, under command of Gen. Kearney, encamped before their advance on New Mexico. Here, I believe, Col. Snively, once a citizen of St. Louis, and Col. Warfield, with their two or three hundred Texans, entered on their intended invasion of New Mexico in 1843. I think Kit Carson was the constant hunter for this fort from 1834 to 1842, when he left it as the guide of Lieut. Fremont.

DISASTROUS EXPEDITIONS ACROSS THE PLAINS IN 1811.

Chambers, Beard, McKnight, and some ten or twelve other young men set out from the little French village of St. Louis in the spring of 1811, crossed the plains in the direction of California, were captured in the northern part of New Mexico, in what is now the State of Colorado, and

conveyed to Santa Fé in chains, and from thence to the city of Chihuahua, where they languished for nine long and weary years, — from 1811 to 1821, — when Mexico gained her independence, and set these unhappy citizens of St. Louis at liberty. I received these facts from Mr. Chambers more than fifty years since. Chambers, after his release, lived and died at Taos, in New Mexico. McKnight and Beard became wealthy, and owned the copper-mines west of the Rio Grande. The other members of this unfortunate party I never knew, but I think it probable that McKnight was the only one that ever revisited his kindred and native land. Some of these young men were born and reared in Kentucky. Soon after the Chambers party left St. Louis, another company of young men set out from the same point, for the purpose of trapping in the Rocky Mountains, and probably intending to reach the distant coast of California. They were fitted out by Messrs. Chouteau and Gratiot, and commanded by Auguste P. Chouteau, a short sketch of whose life I propose to give hereafter. This party was also captured by Spanish authorities, and imprisoned for a long time in New Mexico. The account of this expedition I received from Mr. Chouteau himself. I had reached the Indian country from the mountains, in the most destitute condition. Col. Chouteau, notwithstanding my lice and rags, invited me to dine with him, and on this occasion gave me the history of his capture and imprisonment. This accomplished man died between 1836 and 1838. I think he has children and grandchildren yet living in St. Louis. Should any of his sons or daughters possess any facts of interest connected with his life, I should be glad to have them.

AN EXPEDITION FROM ST. LOUIS TO CALIFORNIA, 1824.

Another small company left St. Louis, or Missouri, in 1824. After unparalleled sufferings, they reached San Diego, in California. There they were thrown into prison.

Seven died during their captivity; others, after a confinement of several years, were liberated. Ohio Patti, one of this party, who was a mere boy when he left Missouri, was permitted to go at large. After his father's death in prison, he returned to his native Kentucky, and entered Augusta College in that State. While a student in that institution, his life and adventures were written by the well-known Timothy Flint, the biographer of Daniel Boone, and the author of numerous literary productions. This man, Ohio Patti, the last of that unfortunate expedition, left my camp in the Sierra Nevada Mountains, amidst the deep snows of the terrible winter of 1849–50; and his sister, whom I met in Missouri eleven years after, told me that that was the last account she had ever received concerning him. I suppose he perished in the deep snows, or was killed by the Indians.

These brief and simple biographical narratives are intended to rescue from oblivion a few incidents in the lives of those who in early days opened the vast regions of the plains and Northern Mexico to the trade and commerce of the United States. Many of the characters of whom I have written were the first American explorers of California and Oregon, and a few of them the first American settlers of those new countries; and some of them figured conspicuously in the conquest of California by the United States.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS IN COLE CO., MO.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS, JUNE 17, 1880, BY DR. N. DE WYL, CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

I recently opened two mounds near Boggs's Creek, about two miles below Jefferson City, near the Missouri River.

The first tumulus inspected contained a mass of charred and burned bones, mingled with ashes and charcoal; the bones were easily recognized as human. When exposed, it had the appearance as though a quantity of bones or a number of corpses had been heaped upon a pile of wood, the mass then set on fire and pretty well burned down, and while the embers were still aglow, the whole covered with earth.

The second mound was some fifty feet eastward from the other, and much larger. On opening it, a large cist was discovered, nine feet long by four and a half wide, covered with flat stones, which, on being removed, disclosed a number of skeletons, not arranged in order. The cist was constructed of flat stones, set on edge. The appearance of this receptacle suggested the thought that perhaps, after a fight, the bodies of the slain had been laid in the cist promiscuously, but close together, earth thrown over them, the cover stones then placed across, and the mound raised over the whole. There were as many as twenty-five skeletons; some straight, some bent,—in fact, in every position. All the bones were large, as of full-grown men. I took out a *femur* eighteen inches long. On exposure, these remains, for the most part, crumbled. However, I succeeded in securing several

fragments of skulls, some *tibias*, *fibulas*, etc.; but it was impossible to follow out the frame of any one skeleton, owing to the remains being too much confused and mingled together. No pottery, no arms, no ornaments of any kind were found.

Upon the top of the mound I came upon the skeleton of an Indian woman, buried there some twenty years ago. Such intrusive burials are not uncommon.

I have got together a small collection of specimens: two good-sized stone axes, six and eight pounds; one large flint axe; and several curious stones, whose use I cannot conjecture. I have also a stone implement, of which the upper part is a piece of limestone, the lower a pebble, the two united by some kind of cement, — somewhat like this: also two large stones of this shape:

I intend, when leisure permits, to open some large mounds on the Missouri bluff, seven miles above town. Experience has taught me that it is not very hard work to make such explorations, where one sets about the undertaking properly. I begin on the level, at the base, and drive in an open trench thirty inches wide, until I strike the cist, if there be one, or whatever the mound contains; then I remove the earth all round, and lay the cist quite bare. In this way, with the least outlay of labor, one gets at whatever is in the mound.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS IN MISSOURI.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS, JUNE 17, 1880, BY PROF. G. C. BROADHEAD, CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

Interesting relics of an aboriginal race are found nearly throughout the State of Missouri, more especially in the wooded portions, and chiefly upon the summits of the highest bluffs near our largest rivers.

Previous to 1860, I had catalogued about seventy-five mounds along the Missouri, the Mississippi, Osage, Gasconade, Sac, and Spring Rivers, and not including those of South-East Missouri. These mounds generally have a circular base with rounded summit, are twenty to forty feet in diameter at base, and two to five feet high.

On the Missouri bluffs near Kansas City, and on Blackwater bluffs near Warrensburg, stone vaults are found built with a perfectly square interior, having perpendicular walls regularly laid up, with a view to strength, and nicely breaking joints. On the Missouri River bluffs near the line of Clay and Platte Counties there are many of these structures, externally appearing to be rounded earth-mounds; but upon digging into them we find nicely built walls, two and a half to four feet high and eight to nine feet square, with sometimes an opening about two and a half feet wide on the southern side. Their interiors are found to contain several layers of human skeletons, — a layer placed in the bottom, flat stones laid over them, then a covering of earth, then another layer, covered in a similar manner. It does not appear that any regularity was observed in the burial, as the legs are often found bent up and the hands resting on the knees. Several of these vaults contain fragments of burned bones and burned earth, — possibly

cremated. The whole is finally covered with earth for several feet thickness. I have seen stumps of oak trees four feet in diameter which had grown upon these mounds. Only a few flint spear and arrow heads have been found in them. From some of these mounds, especially those near Warrensburg, interesting vessels of pottery have been obtained.

On the north side of Salt River, in Pike County, I have observed two stone vaults nine feet square, with walls rough exteriorly, but straight and perpendicular within, and about three feet high. Beck, in his Gazetteer of Missouri, gives figures and descriptions of interesting walled structures near Louisiana, consisting of several chambers nicely arched over.

On the bluffs of Prairie Fork of the Loutre, in Montgomery County, I have observed a nicely walled vault ten feet square and two feet high. We have information of other similar structures; but also many have disappeared, and the stones of which they were built have gone into foundations, stone fences, etc.

The interiors of many mounds show that stones have been set up on edge, inclining outwardly, then covered over with earth. Most of the mounds mentioned occupy the summit of the highest bluffs near the larger streams; but very large ones are sometimes found on lower ground, some of them twenty feet high and one hundred long.

A few miles from Miami, Saline County, there is a remarkable ruin of an ancient fortification, twenty to forty acres, enclosed by three low ridges and three shallow ditches, the former not over three feet high at present: probably they were once much higher and the ditches deeper. The whole is now covered with a heavy growth of vines, bushes, and trees, some of the last three feet in diameter upon the ridges.

A full description of all prehistoric remains in Missouri would make quite a large volume of interesting matter. It is to be hoped that the Missouri Historical Society will push their investigations into every part of the State; and with the assistance of the public, while increasing the collections in their museum, obtain much information respecting the vestiges of the aboriginal race that once peopled this country, so numerous throughout Missouri. They could render a considerable service to archæology by compiling a catalogue of the prehistoric remains in the State.

PUBLICATIONS

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SAINT LOUIS.

No. IV.

AMENDED CHARTER AND BY-LAWS.

1880.

MISSOURI

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SAINT LOUIS.

AMENDED CHARTER AND BY-LAWS.

1880.

FOUNDED A. D. 1866.

ST. LOUIS:
G. I. JONES & CO., PRINTERS.
1880.

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY WAS CHARTERED A. D. 1866.

PRESIDENTS:

Hon. James H. Lucas	1866–1868
Nathan Ranney, Esq.	1869–1872
Hon. Albert Todd	1873–1874
John B. Johnson, M.D.	1875–1876
Hon. James G. Barry	1877–1878
P. L. Foy, Esq.	1878–1880
Edwin Harrison, Esq.	1880–

CHARTER

OF THE

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I.

TITLE — OBJECTS — MEANS.

1. *Title.* This corporation shall be called "Missouri Historical Society." It shall be located in the city of St. Louis. It shall continue for three hundred years. It may acquire and hold property to the value of one million dollars.

2. *Objects.* It shall have for its objects to institute historical enquiry in all its branches, including archæology and ethnography, but especially in whatever relates to the State of Missouri and the Valley of the Mississippi: and to receive and collect the evidences and illustrations thereof, of every kind and nature, and the same arrange and preserve.

3. *Means.* As means to this end, the Society shall hold meetings, as provided by its By-Laws, for the discussion of subjects germane to this charter, and the consideration of any matter relative to its duties and interests; and take measures to procure original papers on such subjects; and, as often as convenient, publish or cause to be published, its transactions, proceedings, and papers, or works, of historical, archæological, and ethnographical value that may come under its control.

It shall establish and maintain, in a safe depository, a permanent museum.

It shall place itself by correspondence, or otherwise, in relation with other societies in America, and elsewhere.

It shall take measures to perpetuate the memory of important events in American history, and to signalize recurring anniversaries, more especially such as relate to the Valley of the Mississippi.

ARTICLE II.

THE MUSEUM.

4. *What it includes.* Under the title, "Museum," shall be included the library, cabinets, archæological and ethnographic collections, archives, manuscripts, and curiosities; in a word, the entire collection of objects, of whatever kind, belonging to the Society or deposited with it.

5. *Limitations.* All personal property falling to the Society, whether by gift or otherwise, shall be taken and held subject to the proviso and limitation that any object deemed or found to be worthless, or not within the purview of section 2, and exact duplicates, may be disposed of by exchange or otherwise, if so ordered at any meeting.

The Society shall not accept on deposit, or loan, or as a gift, any object whatever, for whose loss or injury it may become pecuniarily responsible.

6. *Reading-Room.* A reading-room may be established disconnected with the museum as such, as in this article defined.

ARTICLE III.

MEMBERSHIP.

7. *Classes of Members.* The Society shall be composed of associate members, corresponding, and honorary. Any person of good character may be admitted to membership.

8. *Associate Members.* The associate members shall constitute exclusively the managing body of the Society.

9. *Non-resident Associate Members.* Any person living outside the City of St. Louis may be elected to non-resident associate membership.

Every associate member, not in arrears for dues, who removes from St. Louis may at his request be transferred to the class of

non-resident associates without further payments. Also, any non-resident of the city who shall further the aims of the society by original researches in matters pertaining to its objects or by archæological explorations, and communicated to it, or by important contributions to its museum, in virtue thereof, on the recommendation of the Executive Committee, may be elected a non-resident associate member, free from all pecuniary liability to the society. Non-resident associate members shall be entitled to the rights and privileges of associate members at any meeting they attend.

10. *Life Associate Members.* Any associate member, on the payment of such sum as shall be fixed by the By-Laws, may become an associate for life; and thereafter, whilst retaining every right already possessed, he shall be exempt from further liability to the Society.

Also, any person who has rendered, by a considerable benefaction, or in other ways, really pecuniarily valuable, or signal, services to the Society, may be voted the honor of life membership on the joint recommendation of the Executive Committee and the Committee on Membership; and, in such case, the fact shall be stated in his diploma.

11. *Honorary Members.* Any person may be elected an honorary member on the like joint recommendation mentioned in the preceding section.

12. *Permanent Members.* Any member who shall pay into the Treasury the sum of Two Hundred and Fifty Dollars, or donate real property of an equal value, shall become a Permanent Member, and his name shall be retained on the roll of members as long as the Society endures.

13. *Corresponding Members.* Any non-resident of St. Louis, known to have devoted himself to historical studies, or to such objects as this society is established to promote, may be elected a corresponding member for life.

14. *Election of Members.* Every candidate for associate membership shall be proposed in writing, referred to the Committee on Membership, and, on their report, balloted on at the next meeting: but if the candidate be proposed by the Committee

themselves, the vote may be taken at the same sitting. If there be three or more candidates for associate membership reported at the same time, the formality of a separate ballot on each may be dispensed with by unanimous consent.

Corresponding members shall be proposed by two members. No one shall become a member otherwise than as provided in this charter.

15. *Diplomas.* Diplomas of membership may be granted to life, honorary, corresponding, non-resident associate, and permanent members, but not to associate members.

ARTICLE IV.

OFFICERS.

16. *The Officers of the Society shall be:*

A President;
Three Vice-Presidents;
Six Vice-Presidents of Honor;
A Recording Secretary, and an assistant if there be need:
A Corresponding Secretary:
A Treasurer;
A Keeper of the Museum;
The Chairman of each Standing Committee:

each of whom shall hold office until his successor is duly chosen and qualified.

The term of office shall begin at the stated meeting next following the Annual.

The President shall be elected biennially; the Vice Presidents and the Corresponding Secretary, annually.

The Recording Secretary and his assistant, the Treasurer, and the Vice Presidents of Honor shall be appointed annually by the President, with the advice and consent of the Executive Committee. Such Vice Presidents may be chosen in part or altogether from among non-resident associates and corresponding members.

Vacancies happening in any elective office shall be filled for the unexpired term, unless for good cause, at the stated meeting next after the vacancy has been announced.

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All elections for officers shall be by ballot, and at a stated meeting. No person in arrears for dues shall hold office.

17. *Offices consolidated.* The offices of Recording Secretary, Treasurer, and other ministerial offices may be united in the same person; also the office of Actuary may be created at a convenient time, and those offices consolidated in the same; but in such case the Actuary (or whatever the title by which such officer shall be designated) shall be chosen by the officers and the Executive Committee.

18. *The President.* The President shall be the executive officer and head of the Society, and as such shall take precedence on all occasions. He shall appoint all committees, officers, agents, or employés, where there is no provision to the contrary. He shall be *ex officio* a member of every committee.

He shall take care that the rules are observed, the resolutions of the meetings carried into effect, and exercise such supervision and control over the Society, its officers and appointees, as the duties of his office may require. He may suspend any officer until the first stated meeting thereafter, when the matter with its reasons shall be reported to the Society for its decision. In case of doubt or dispute as to the proper person to perform any act in itself clearly lawful, he shall decide the question: or, if need be, appoint some one to act until a stated meeting, or a meeting specially convened, shall decide what is proper in the premises. In all important matters the President shall consult the Executive Committee.

19. *Vice Presidents.* The Vice Presidents (in the order of their election) shall be clothed with the authority and perform the duties of the President in his absence: in the absence of all four, the chairman of the Executive Committee shall be *ex officio* acting President.

20. *Vice Presidents of Honor.* Vice Presidents of Honor shall have the privilege, by courtesy, to preside at extra-urban meetings, the one residing in or nearest to the town in which the meeting is held taking precedence.

21. *The Recording Secretary.* The Recording Secretary shall keep an exact record of the proceedings and transactions of

each meeting, occasional as well as stated: and he shall have charge of the book containing the same, and of the seal. He shall warn all meetings.

22. *The Corresponding Secretary.* The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence not otherwise provided for. He shall prepare and submit at the Annual Meeting a yearly report.

23. *The Treasurer.* The Treasurer shall collect the dues of members, and in no case shall he receive more than ten per cent for such service; also, other moneys when directed by the Executive Committee: he shall deposit all such moneys without delay, with the chosen depository, in the name of the Society, to the credit of the Fund to which they belong. He shall not draw out any money without the written consent of the Executive Committee.

24. *The Keeper of the Museum.* The Keeper of the Museum shall have charge of the Museum, subject to such regulations relating to his office as may be lawfully prescribed. He shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V.

COMMITTEES.

25. *Standing Committees.* There shall be the following standing committees:

An Executive Committee.

A Committee on Publication and Library.

A Committee on Membership.

A Committee on Archæology.

Also, for the purpose of promoting more effectually the objects of the charter, there may be organized, in the same manner as the committee on archæology, other standing committees, if there be real need, each under an appropriate title indicative of its purpose, to which shall be assigned the especial charge of some particular subject not already provided for.

There shall not be a special committee on any matter pertinent to a standing committee.

26. *Executive Committee.* In order that the meetings may be free for the reading of papers, discussions, and the consideration of matters set forth in this charter, the executive business of the Society shall be placed under the care and management of an Executive Committee, consisting of three members, and one of the Vice Presidents selected by lot.

They shall solicit and receive donations for the Society: recommend plans for promoting its objects; digest and prepare business requiring its action; authorize the disbursement and expenditure of unappropriated moneys in the treasury; control the fitting up of the museum, rooms, and building of the society, prescribe the regulations governing them, and exercise supervision over them. They shall take care that the property of the society is preserved from waste, and properly applied. They shall have supervision over the finances, including the selection of a depository of the funds, which shall be one of the incorporated banking institutions of the City of St. Louis. They shall have the exclusive charge and management of the Special Funds.

No expenditure shall be made, or ordered, unless on their report; but, also, notwithstanding these provisions, the Committee shall not authorize the disbursement of any money contrary to a decision of the Society.

They shall have the right to displace the Keeper of the Museum and the Treasurer.

27. *Committee on Publication.* The Committee on Publication and Library shall consist of three members.

They shall superintend the printing and distribution of all publications issued by authority of the Society, whether reprints or original papers; and nothing shall be published without their approval; they shall also exercise a general supervision over the library department of the Museum, subject to the provisions of the preceding section.

28. *Committee on Membership.* The Committee on Membership shall consist of three members. All nominations for membership shall be referred to this committee; their report shall set forth the name and address in full of the proposed

member; and, in the case of other than an associate member, the circumstances that justify an election.

29. *Committee on Archæology.* The Committee on Archæology, the scope of whose functions is indicated by their title, shall consist of three or more members.

They shall have special charge, in so far forth as not limited by other provisions of this charter and the By-Laws, of the archæological cabinets and collections.

30. *How Standing Committees are chosen.* Previous to, or at, the stated meeting next after the Annual, the President shall nominate a member of each standing committee: the person appointed shall choose a second member, and these two shall select the third; and if the committee consist of a greater number, the three shall select the others: their names shall be reported to the next stated meeting for record. Every committee shall organize by electing a chairman.

ARTICLE VI.

MEETINGS.

31. *Stated Meetings.* Stated meetings may be held at such times (except during the months of July and August) as shall be fixed by the By-Laws. Occasional meetings may be convened as provided by the By-Laws.

32. *Annual Meeting.* One of the stated meetings, as provided in the By-Laws, shall be designated the Annual Meeting, at which the election of officers, required by this charter, shall be held, and the yearly reports given in.

33. *Quorum.* At least five members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, except herein otherwise provided; and ten for the election of officers.

ARTICLE VII.

FINANCES.

34. *How the Society is maintained.* The support and stability of the Society shall be maintained by the dues of its members.

by subscriptions, gifts, and bequests, and any surplus that may be produced by the Endowment Fund, or otherwise.

15. *Property vested in the Society as such.* No one, in virtue of membership, or otherwise, shall have any individual interest in the property of the Society, or in its profits, earnings, income, or increase; but the same are declared to be, and shall be, vested in the corporation as such, for the objects and purposes set forth in this charter; and the Society elects to adopt section 981, of Article X., Chapter 21, Revised Statutes of Missouri of 1879, "Benevolent, Religious, Scientific, Educational, and Miscellaneous Associations," by incorporating the same herein as follows:

Sect. 981. Any association or society formed for educational purposes as classified in section 974, and as hereinafter limited, located in any city or town, may elect to provide in its articles of agreement, by incorporating this section in such articles and in other respects conforming them thereto, that such corporation shall be, in all that relates to its property and all such it may acquire, a *quasi* trustee for the public, and as such may receive and take by deed or devise in its corporate capacity, [illegible] property, real and personal, in trust for the uses and purposes for which such corporation was formed, and execute any trust so created: *Provided*, That this section shall apply only, and it is hereby expressly limited, to such association or society as may be formed for the purpose of promoting historical studies or natural science, of establishing a museum, library, or an art gallery, such educational and scientific purposes being chiefly for the advantage of the public where such corporation is located: and, *provided furthermore*, that no corporation in whose charter is incorporated this section shall be permitted to amend such charter or to take advantage or avail itself of any change in the general law, in such way as to affect this section, and such charter shall be taken as a perpetual contract between such corporation and the public.

It shall not be lawful for such corporation to create or contract any debt, or pecuniary obligation in the nature of a debt: and any attempt to create or contract any such debt or obligation shall be *ipso facto* void. Nor shall any such corporation

mortgage, or deed in trust, any of its property, or sell any such property, except by way of exchange for property of equal value, or for reinvestment.

If any such corporation dissolve, its property shall be vested in the city or town in which such corporation is located, to be taken and held for the benefit of the people of such city or town, to the same purposes, uses, and trusts as such property was held by such corporation.

Membership in such corporation shall be open to the public, under such reasonable rules and regulations as the corporation may prescribe in its by-laws.

Every such corporation shall create and maintain an Endowment Fund, to remain perpetually intact, that means may thereby be provided for the stability and support of the corporation; and to this end, all moneys voluntarily contributed as life memberships, and by persons not residents of the locality where such corporation is located, who desire to be registered as members, and one-fourth of the current subscriptions from members, shall be set apart, until the moneys derived from these sources, together with such as lawfully come into such Endowment Fund from other sources, shall amount in the aggregate to at least two hundred thousand dollars.

Such Endowment Fund may be invested in bonds of the United States, or of this State, or of the city or county in which the corporation is located, or in loans secured by mortgage on improved real estate situated in this State, but shall not be invested in securities or stock of any private trading or manufacturing corporation, or of any railroad company, or on any personal security, and the principal thereof shall not be encroached upon or expended by such corporation for any purpose.

The Museum, Gallery, and Cabinets of such corporation shall be open to the public of this State, under such reasonable regulations as may from time to time be prescribed, and the contents of such Museum, Gallery, or Cabinets, nor any portion thereof, shall not be loaned, or taken out for exhibition or other purpose, on any pretext whatever.

Any existing corporation formed for purposes within the pur

law of this section (and whose charter is in harmony therewith) shall be empowered to adopt the same as an amendment to such charter under the provisions of section 975.

36. *Separation of funds.* The property of the Society shall be divided into a General Fund and Special Funds.

The General Fund shall comprise all property whose use or application is not limited, but which may be disposed of from time to time, as deemed advisable.

The Special Funds, each to be designated by its appropriate title, shall include all property whose use or application, or the income whereof, by the provisions of this charter, or by the terms of its acquisition, or by other cause, is restricted to a special object or purpose. Such funds, so far as they consist of money, or its convertible representative, shall be deposited, or held separately from the General Fund.

All initiation fees, and all moneys or property received for permanent membership, unless the same be limited otherwise by the donor, shall form part of the Endowment Fund.

37. *Assurance of good faith.* The provisions of this article being intended, among other purposes, as an assurance of good faith on the part of the Society to all benefactors, the wilful violation of any such shall entail personal liability upon every person who is a party thereto, or who by his vote sanctions such violation.

ARTICLE VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

38. *Services Voluntary.* The Society being a voluntary association, no officer or member shall receive pay for his ordinary services as defined in this charter and in the By-Laws: but compensation may be made to officers, agents, and employés, for extraordinary services, when such services have been previously ordered, and the compensation fixed by the Executive Committee, with the approval of the Society.

39. *All bound by the Regulations.* Every person admitted to membership, in virtue of such admission and as a condition

thereof, shall be bound by this charter and the By-Laws made in pursuance thereof, as long as he remains a member.

40. *Respecting proceedings required to take place on a certain day.* Elections, appointments, and other proceedings required to take place on a designated day, but which, from any cause, do not take place, shall be in order at the adjourned meeting, if such be held, or at the stated meeting next following, or thereafter, until the requirement is fulfilled.

ARTICLE IX.

AMENDMENTS.

41. No alteration shall be made in this charter unless the proposed amendment be submitted in writing, signed by at least three members, read and recorded in the proceedings, referred to the Executive Committee, reported back and voted on at a stated meeting thereafter, and adopted by the votes of at least ten associate members, such vote being by ayes and noes, and entered in the proceedings: but in no event shall sections numbered five, thirty-five, and thirty-six be amended so as to impair or diminish their binding force as therein set forth.

42. *Parties to this Charter.* All persons who have paid their dues to the Missouri Historical Society, as shown by the Treasurer's books, to the beginning of the year 1879, and who have not since resigned, shall be parties to this charter: but none others.

BY-LAWS.

STATED MEETINGS.

43. Stated meetings shall be held on the third Thursday of every month, unless another regular recurring day be agreed upon. The order of proceedings shall be as follows: —

1. Reading the record of the proceedings at the previous meeting, which, when approved, shall be signed by the presiding officer and attested by the Secretary.

2. Report of the Recording Secretary and of the Corresponding Secretary.

3. Report of the Executive Committee.

4. Donations.

5. Written communications, and discussion thereon.

6. Verbal communications, and discussion thereon.

7. Report of Committee on Membership: ballot on candidates reported: proposals for membership.

8. Reports of other committees.

9. New business.

10. Adjournment.

But if there be need, a special order may be prescribed for an extraordinary occasion.

At the Annual Meeting, the reading of the yearly reports, the election of officers, and other things required to be done on that day, shall have precedence over all other business.

All propositions, except to adjourn, shall be in writing, and signed: no report not in writing shall be received.

The President shall call the meeting to order when the appointed time arrives: if there be no officer present authorized, *ex officio*, to preside, the meeting shall come to order on a motion naming some associate member in attendance Chairman *pro tem.*

Meetings, stated and occasional, may be held in other places than the City of St. Louis.

RELATING TO THE PRESIDENT.

44. The President may call occasional meetings at his own motion, and when requested in writing by three members he shall call such meeting; he shall prescribe the order of proceedings conformably to the object for which the meeting was convened; he shall preside at all meetings, rule points of order, give the casting vote, and, in the absence of the Recording Secretary and the Assistam, appoint a Secretary *pro tem.*

RELATING TO THE RECORDING SECRETARY.

45. The Recording Secretary shall keep an exact record of the proceedings, reports not already recorded, and transactions at each sitting, whether stated meeting or occasional, to be written up before the next meeting.

He shall attest, under seal, all formal instruments issued by the Society.

He shall receive and at once deliver to the Keeper of the Museum all papers read at the meetings, unless their disposal be otherwise ordered.

All communications (except such as relate to matters pertaining exclusively to one of the standing committees) received by him in the interval from one stated meeting to another, he shall report at the first stated meeting thereafter, and at once deliver to the Keeper of the Museum; all communications made by him he shall copy in a book to be kept for that special purpose, and also report as aforesaid.

He shall keep an alphabetical roll of all the members, their names and addresses in full, with the dates of their election, and the dates of resignations, removals from the city, expulsions, forfeitures of membership, and deaths that may occur among them. The roll shall be revised by the Annual Meeting.

On occasions when a larger quorum than the ordinary is required to determine the question pending, he shall record the

names of at least ten of the members present; when a vote is taken by ayes and noes he shall note the names of those that vote.

He shall notify in writing, without delay, each person admitted to associate membership, of his election, and those who have made gifts to the Museum, of the proceedings thereon, including a copy of any resolution or vote passed relating thereto.

He shall compile and keep a list of all historical, and other similar societies in America and elsewhere.

He shall keep posted conspicuously in the room where the meetings are held, the names of the officers of the Society and "the Order of Proceedings."

RELATING TO THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

46. The Corresponding Secretary shall transcribe, in a book to be kept for that purpose, all letters written by him, and report such correspondence at each meeting. He shall deliver to the Keeper of the Museum all letters he receives, immediately after he shall have reported them to the meeting. He shall notify corresponding members, and non-resident associate, of their election, and Vice-Presidents of Honor, of their appointment. He shall perform any other duties pertinent to his office required of him by the Society.

RELATING TO THE TREASURER.

47. The Treasurer shall keep regular books of accounts, showing all moneys and money-assets received, when, from whom, and for what object; every expenditure, and its nature, and the condition of each fund: which books shall be free at all times to the inspection of the Executive Committee, and of the Society when required.

48. He shall keep an alphabetical list of the associate, non-resident associate, and life members who have become such in virtue of election and payment of dues, with the dates of their admission, and their address; and the dates of resignations, forfeitures of membership, deaths, and removals from the city that

may occur among them: and opposite every name he shall make an entry of money paid each year. This list shall be produced at the Annual Meeting, to be verified by public inspection: and from time to time at the stated meetings, as may be convenient: it shall be the evidence of membership of those to whom it relates.

49. He shall not retain in his personal custody above twenty dollars.

50. He shall not disburse any money except on a proper warrant, and then only by cheque.

51. He shall make a full report to the Executive Committee immediately previous to the Annual Meeting, to be embodied in their report, at which time they shall inspect his books and vouchers and certify thereto, if found correct.

52. In the absence of the Treasurer, or on his refusal to act, cheques against the General Fund to pay proper vouchers, signed by the President and the Chairman of the Executive Committee, shall be valid.

RELATING TO STANDING COMMITTEES.

53. Every committee shall meet as agreed upon by its members.

A majority of a committee, not including the President of the Society, shall constitute a quorum: but it shall require a majority of all the members of the Executive Committee to select a depository, or to displace any officer.

Every member of the Society shall have the right to submit propositions in writing to any standing committee, and to attend the sitting to explain and support such propositions.

No general regulations prescribed by a standing committee shall take effect until approved of by the Society.

RELATING TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

54. The Executive Committee shall hold regular meetings, the times of which shall be reported to the Secretary of the Society for record. They shall keep minutes of their proceedings. Any

member of the committee may call for the ayes and noes on the question under consideration, and require the same to be recorded; also, he may bring any question by appeal before the Society for its decision.

55. They shall open an account in the name of the "Missouri Historical Society" with the depository selected, and all moneys belonging to the General Fund shall be deposited to the credit of this account. Special funds shall be deposited, whether with the same depository or another, to the credit of the "Special Funds account Missouri Historical Society," or of each "Special Fund" by its name; and shall not be withdrawn except for the purpose of investment, or to be used for the object for which they were received, and then only on the joint cheque of the Treasurer and the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

56. The property constituting the "Endowment Fund" shall be kept separate from every other, and the endowment fund moneys deposited to the credit of "Missouri Historical Society Endowment Fund;" the moneys to accrue from dues to this fund, as provided in Article VII. of the charter, as well as from any other source, shall be set apart periodically, and lodged to its credit.

57. Every claim shall be presented to the Executive Committee to be audited: if the claim be found correct, the Chairman shall certify thereon: "*Audited, and allowed for* ——— *Dollars. St. Louis,* ——— *18*—. ——, *Chairman;*" and it shall then be a proper voucher to be paid by the Treasurer.

58. They shall report at each stated meeting the additions to the Museum (except as mentioned in section 61), and how obtained.

59. They shall compile every year a report containing a full statement of the affairs and of the condition of the Society in all matters intrusted to their supervision and management, and such suggestions as they deem appropriate, and submit the same at the Annual Meeting.

60. They shall determine the manner in which the meetings are to be warned, and instruct the Secretary accordingly.

RELATING TO THE COMMITTEE ON ARCHÆOLOGY.

61. The Committee on Archæology shall take care that the archæological collections are properly catalogued and classified and arranged and displayed in suitable cabinets: they shall adopt measures to increase the number and variety of specimens, and, as often as there be occasion, report such increase. They shall endeavor to obtain information respecting prehistoric remains in the Valley of the Mississippi and elsewhere, by explorations and otherwise, and to procure interesting papers relating to archæology to be read at the monthly sittings. They shall prepare an annual report on the matters intrusted to their charge, to accompany the report of the Executive Committee.

RELATING TO MEMBERS AND MEMBERSHIP.

62. Every nomination for membership shall be in writing, the name and address of the candidate given in full. Three negative ballots shall defeat a nominee.

63. Each associate member shall pay an initiation fee, due on his election, of five dollars, and a yearly due of five dollars, payable on the first day of March: provided that the annual due for any current year shall not be required (in addition to the initiation fee) of those elected to membership after the month of May. The payment of the annual due shall be an absolute condition of membership (except in the case provided).

If any one shall fail to pay the initiation fee within three months after his election, the election shall be null, and such failure shall be reported by the Treasurer to the Secretary for record.

No name shall be entered on the list of members by the Secretary or Treasurer before the initiation fee and the annual due are paid.

Any member not in arrears for dues (or by paying such dues for the current year) may resign by notifying the Treasurer or the Secretary, in writing, of his resignation.

64. Non-resident associate members shall pay ten dollars once for all.

65. The fee for life membership shall be fixed at ———— dollars.

66. Corresponding Membership being a grade of honor, and a mark of appreciation on the part of the Society, the committee, as well as the proposers, shall be circumspect that the person nominated possesses the qualifications required by the charter, so that his election may take place only in virtue thereof; and furthermore, that the honor will be accepted. Corresponding Membership being a free gift, those upon whom it is bestowed are exempt from all payments whatever; but they are expected to contribute, at convenience, at least one paper relating to some object of the Society, to be read at a stated meeting.

67. Honorary Members, hereafter elected, shall have all the rights and privileges of Associate Members, except to vote and to hold office: they shall be exempt from pecuniary liability, but they will be under a constant invitation to serve and promote the interests of the Society in such ways, and by such means, material and intellectual and influential, as their inclination and convenience may enable and persuade.

68. Any life-long resident of Missouri who shall have attained to the seventieth year of his age, or thereabouts, on the recommendation of the Committee on Membership, may be elected an Associate Member for life, free from any payments whatever to the Society.

RELATING TO THE MUSEUM.

69. All books, specimens, and other objects in the Museum shall be classified and arranged; letters, manuscripts, and pamphlets assorted and bound, as circumstances permit. Each object shall be numbered and catalogued, and, if a gift, the name of the giver inscribed conspicuously thereon.

Cases, cabinets, and drawers shall be kept locked, and none inspected open unless in the presence of the Keeper of the Museum.

70. No manuscript intrusted to the Society confidentially shall be inspected without the consent of the owner or his representative, but kept in a sealed parcel if necessary, under safe lock and

key, until such time as it can be placed in the general archives or surrendered to the owner.

71. One-fourth at least of all the current revenue shall be devoted to the increase and extension of the archæological and ethnographic departments of the Museum.

In purchasing objects for the Museum, regard shall be had, primarily, to their relation to the history, archæology, formation, construction, and illustration of the Valley of the Mississippi.

72. Publications, books, parcels, and all other objects destined for the Museum shall be addressed, "Missouri Historical Society," and sent and delivered direct to the Keeper of the Museum.

MISCELLANEOUS.

73. Any member may be expelled for cause at a stated meeting; an appeal to the Executive Committee may be taken, and on their report the question of expulsion may be reconsidered and voted upon without any debate at the next stated meeting: the decision shall be final.

74. All money, books, papers, and property, of whatever kind, that shall come into the possession of any one in virtue of official position, or membership, shall belong to the corporation, and shall not be held, or detained, under any pretext whatever, but duly accounted for or delivered, with reasonable diligence, to the person authorized to receive the same.

75. Sickness preventing attention to business, absence from the city, or the place where the duty should be performed, or not being found after reasonable search made, or inability from any cause, shall constitute *absence*, within the meaning of the charter and of these By-Laws.

76. The Society may remove any officer or member of a committee at any stated meeting at which there is an election quorum present; provided written notice was given at a previous stated meeting that a motion to remove such person would be offered, and the person, if absent at the time, duly notified through the post-office by the Secretary.

77. No printed matter shall appear on the papers used for any

writings or correspondence, except such as relates to the Society itself; nor shall any one use its imprint for his private purpose.

78. At the recommendation of the Executive Committee, but not otherwise, Honorable Mention may be conferred upon any one who has rendered important service to the Society.

79. When the question is put, all members present shall vote, unless excused.

The presiding officer shall not allow the time of the sitting to be monopolized by any one member to the exclusion of others.

AMENDMENTS.

80. The By-Laws may be amended (such amendment being conformable to the charter, and not impairing or limiting any provision thereof, or enlarging its scope) in the manner following: The proposed amendment, signed by three members, shall be offered at a stated meeting, and referred to the Executive Committee, who shall report thereon, unless for good cause, at the next stated meeting. If the committee recommend the proposed amendment, it shall be read and voted on if there be an election quorum present; the vote shall be taken by division if there be twenty or more members present, by ayes and noes if there be a less number in attendance. If the committee report against the proposition, its consideration shall be postponed indefinitely.

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Missouri Historical Society.

Publication No. 5.

SAMUEL GATY.

Missouri

Historical Society.

Publication No. 5.

SAMUEL GATY.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF

ST. LOUIS.

PROCEEDINGS APRIL 21, 1881.

SAMUEL GATY, OF ST. LOUIS.

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN F. DARBY, BEFORE THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT ST. LOUIS, APRIL 21, 1881, ON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF A PORTRAIT OF SAMUEL GATY TO THE SOCIETY.

Mr. President: — I have been requested to present to the Society the portrait of Samuel Gaty. Mr. Gaty is a modest man, not obtruding himself upon society generally; and in obedience to a resolution of this Society he complied by having a portrait painted, which is now here presented.

Upon doing so, it is proper perhaps, Mr. President, to add a few remarks concerning Mr. Gaty. His ancient residence, long association with the town, and the part he has taken in building up the commerce of this great city, entitle him at least to a passing notice. I shall therefore be

indulged, I hope, by the Society, on the present occasion, in adding a very brief notice of our ancient friend. Mr. Gaty is one of the most ancient inhabitants of this city. I have known him personally and well ever since the year 1828. First, in speaking of St. Louis, it is proper to remark as to all the men in every branch of business who combined to build up this great and growing metropolis, there never was so much talent, so much ability, in all branches of life, as there were connected with the building up of St. Louis. Their merchants, their mechanics, their lawyers, their doctors, have all left their names upon the pages of history. There was determination and a purpose with them such as has never been united in the same number of men in the building up of any other town. You may say that St. Louis was most fortunate after the acquisition of Louisiana. All proud spirits, the men of ambition, men of spirit and determination, all flocked here to Louisiana, in the same manner and in the same way we have seen them all flock to California. Your Bentons and Bartons and Bates, and men of that character, had the resolution to come forward while men who lacked these qualities staid at home.

Mr. Gaty was left an orphan at a very early age, having been born in Kentucky, in August, 1811. He lost his mother at the tender age of three years; his father shortly after died, and then Mr. Gaty was put among strangers who cared nothing for him, who had not his interests at heart, and he was left a friendless and penniless boy. One day when the family where he had been left as an orphan child were all absent, he, under eleven years of age, formed the resolution to make his way to Louisville and bind himself to a foundry establishment as an apprentice; and there he undertook to learn the trade. In this Mr. Gaty discovered and showed great resolution. On his way, still keeping in

mind the affection due to his father, he went by a neighbor, and took the only relic and the only inheritance he got from his father, an old shot-gun not worth more than five dollars, which had been left there for safe keeping. It spoke well for the boy; it showed his affection; he wanted some fond remembrance of his ancestor—complying in this respect, at least, with the commandment in the Old Testament, "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." That is the only commandment of the ten that is connected with a promise. Mr. Gaty fulfilled it. When Mr. Gaty went to learn the trade of foundryman in Louisville, how many temptations might there have been for this boy without friends. He might have been enticed by some straggling vagabond to join a circus, or to run away with any adventurous spirits. Instead of that, Mr. Gaty determined of his own will and determination to take and learn the trade of the foundry business. He succeeded admirably. It was a good thing that he sought the trade in iron-work. Iron is an element that enters largely into all our social relations—it is the main element, you may say, of civilization: we cook by iron, we eat by iron, we build by iron, and we are buried by iron; we plough by iron; we telegraph by iron to the uttermost parts of the Old World; we are driven by iron and steam over land and water; we sow by iron, by hand as well as machine; we reap by iron; we kill men by iron. There is no relation in life in which iron is not the main element: and without iron what would this nation be, or any other nation advanced in civilization? But to return to Mr. Gaty: his name is not "Gaty;" his proper name is "Getty," his ancestors being of German descent. They built and established the town of Gettysburg, in Pennsylvania. But when Gaty was a boy, he was sent to school; the

old pedagogue, when Gaty was learning to write and called his name "Getty," told him to call it "Gaty;" and the old school-master made him write his name "Gaty;" and he didn't know for some years after that his real name was "Getty."

Mr. Gaty was very successful in Louisville. He and a young man named Morton went to New Albany, Indiana; from there they came to St. Louis in 1828. He and this other young man (Morton) undertook to establish a foundry. At that time Martin Thomas, a conspicuous man, had bought a foundry and attempted to establish it; and there was an old blacksmith in town named Lewis Newell, a fine blacksmith, one of the best mechanics the town ever had in that branch of business. Gaty had gone to work for him, and I recollect well sixty years ago, when I was a boy, we had some few blacksmith establishments in the western part of St. Louis County, but they were of limited capacity. They were used in the opening or clearing of the ground there. On my father's plantation we had no man that could make an axe even; we used to send down town. When they would knock the helve out of an axe we would send it to Lewis Newell's. He had a faculty for making cast-steel unite with iron; he sharpened the axes taken for cutting down the large walnut trees, large oak trees, and also burr oaks. When Martin Thomas had taken possession of the foundry there was a man named McQueen connected with it; and Lewis Newell wanted McQueen to engage Gaty and Morton. McQueen said no; he must have competent men — didn't take any such; he was going to get fine men from New York. Then it was that the old steamboat Jubilee had broken its shaft, and there was no foundry here to make a new one. McQueen was applied to, and McQueen said he didn't know how he could make one with the apparatus he

had. Newell overheard the conversation, and told McQueen Gaty could do it. McQueen sent for Gaty, and asked him if he could do it. Gaty said "Yes." Said he, "How will you do it?" "That is my business," said Gaty; "I will do it." And Gaty made the first shaft that was ever made here, and afterwards he built the first steam-engine that ever was built west of the Mississippi River. He was an active man; he understood iron in all its qualities — soft and hard iron, brittle and malleable iron in all relations; and even now, at his advanced age, he is the active president of a transportation company and president of a mining company, which keeps him constantly occupied. He, in fact, has contributed more, as a mechanic, to build up this proud city in all its elements, both railroads and steamboats, than any other man now living. Besides this, Mr. Gaty has been most conspicuous in public affairs — modest, retiring, and reserved, never thrusting himself forward. He has been often selected as a member of the Board of Aldermen, and to various other offices connected with the city government. He has contributed more to the establishment and extension of the water-works of the city of St. Louis than any other person. Many a time and oft was he connected with me in the administration of city affairs.

In the Board of Aldermen, when we first established the water-works of St. Louis, the first place we established them was on a lot in the Ashley Square, on a very little mound. As the town grew, and the importance of having more water distributed all round, David Hill, quite an important person in those days, had taken it into his head that the water-works must be established on the Big Mound. Gaty was a member of the Board of Aldermen, and opposed the Big Mound, as Hill was for it. Now Hill was at work day and night; every time the City Council would meet,

Hill and Gaty would have a contention — they would almost get into a quarrel. Mr. Gaty and other men who were working in foundries, from inhaling small particles of iron, got in the habit of taking a peculiar kind of snuff, so as to clear the lungs and let them breathe freely. One evening when the Board of Aldermen had a meeting, and he and Capt. Hill were going to have a tremendous fight about establishing the water-works, Gaty enlarged upon the subject, and insisted that the town was growing and required a large reservoir that would furnish everybody with water; that the Big Mound would never do in the world. Gaty brought a parcel of the snuff with him. The Board was called to order, and presently Mr. Hill rose up to make his speech. Mr. Gaty very politely handed him his snuff-box, saying: "Mr. Hill, take a pinch of snuff?" "Yes," said David, "I will," and put his fingers down and took a tremendous gorge that ran on to his clothes very much; and he began: "Mr. President" — and with that he began to sneeze and sneeze and sneeze, and the Board of Aldermen began to laugh and titter in their seats. He kept on sneezing and sneezing and sneezing, so that he could not talk: the Board got into a roar, and at last David broke for the door, saying, "I am going;" and he went sneezing clear down home; and by that means Gaty defeated him in establishing the water-works on a small scale.

Jenks: He was not up to snuff.

Mr. Darby (continuing): Gaty has been a public-spirited man; there is nothing but what he has contributed to in all the relations of life. He has accumulated an ample and large fortune by his own industry, by his own perseverance, and, you might say, unaided: he built up a great foundry which covered a whole square; and, besides being the first man that ever built an engine west of the Mississippi River,

he has contributed more in iron-work than any other man we have. It is true he had able and distinguished men that took part with him in public affairs, but he always in his particular branch of business was a leader, a man of fine mind and great determination, that would leave his mark upon an age in which he lived.

So true it is, gentlemen, of human actions. Starting, we may say, a penniless boy, he but fulfils the same destiny which awaits mankind in this country. In every age, you may say, indigence and poverty beget industry and economy; industry and economy beget wealth and affluence; wealth and affluence beget pride and luxury, and pride and luxury beget indigence and poverty — just change round. We see it every day. Do we not see the fortune that often is left, ample means that have been inherited, how quickly they vanish and go when men must live high and cut a big figure. With regard to the accumulation of wealth, Mr. Gaty has passed through that; he has won it honorably and honestly; he has no bad habits; there is no fear of pride and luxury overtaking Gaty at this late hour; his habits have been fixed and established for more than half a century; and it is but right and it is but proper for us to pay this tribute of respect to one who contributed so much and did his part so well to society as has Mr. Gaty. In all relations of life, as husband, as father, he has performed the most noble part; he has educated his children well, and there has been nothing done toward the building up of this great city, in all its relations, to which Mr. Gaty has not contributed largely. He is one of the few men that are left — like some tall oak on the plains which has stood the storms for many years; he stands, as it were, as a mechanic, solitary and alone, against whom the storms and winds of time have beaten for more than half a century; he still stands erect, in good health; and in all

the qualities of manly good-feeling and good heart, I will say that Mr. Gaty cannot be surpassed.

It has been my good fortune to have known him most intimately and well. I was associated with him for years in the administration of the city government, where we required intelligence, foresight, judgment — everything; where we had to plan, and where we had at least to originate the elements of the greatness to which this city has aspired.

Many a time and oft have I conversed, consulted, and advised with him in regard to various projects. We had to establish water-works; we had to establish gas-works; we had to establish all those elements of civilization by which the present generation are surrounded — the appliances of happiness and the enjoyment of life.

Mr. President, if it were not in bad taste I might amplify somewhat the various topics that suggest themselves, but this very brief outline must suffice. Mr. Gaty and myself were boys together, you may say; we have lived in this town more than half a century, and have fought all the battles and incidents of life.

ADDRESS OF ALBERT TODD, ESQ.,

ON THE

RECEPTION OF THE GATY PORTRAIT.

Mr. President: — By assigning to me the duty of receiving in the name of the Missouri Historical Society the portraits just presented to it, I esteem myself especially honored. Their addition to its gallery is a valuable acquisition in the legitimate direction of the instructing and perpetuating purposes of its foundation. The curiosity we all feel to know or correctly conceive the form, presence, and lineaments of those who have been signally engaged in founding and in promoting movements and results that make a noble progress and a proud history in the advancement of the civilization of our race, is not only natural but most praiseworthy and honorable. What millions would the world not give for true portraits of Moses, of Confucius, of Solomon, of Socrates, and of Christ! More than for all the works of all the great masters on canvas or in marble. For what millions would we be deprived of the portraits of Guttenberg, of Columbus, of Shakespeare, of Milton, of Franklin, and of Washington? Not for all that even Bismarck's Hebrew calculator would be able to count. An empire has been established upon this continent whose beginning and growth justify the concep-

tion of an expansion and a compass of culminating human results as great, grand, and conclusive upon man's ultimate development as the reason and the imagination have power to show or portray. Efficient actors in this development future generations will hold in high honor and grateful regard. Which of them shall be deemed most efficient only the future can indicate, but the present time can indicate those who have *certainly* done good service therein. How often is it that one "hath builded better than he knew"?

When Daniel Boone crossed the Alleghenies with his axe in one hand and his rifle in the other, could he have imagined that he with the one was blazing a track into the savage wilderness for the successful march of Liberty's strongest and grandest empire, and with the other he was producing the echoes of the sublimest future that ever glorified the posterity of any people either from the seed of Abraham or that of Japheth?

And when Samuel Gaty, at the age of eleven years, an orphan and unlettered, ran away from the stranger's unsympathetic home, with his only inheritance — a shot-gun — upon his shoulder, little could he imagine that his flying steps would carry him through such unthought vicissitudes as he suffered, and that these very trials would secure to him the good fortune and great distinction of making the first iron casting for a steamboat ever produced in this city, and of constructing the first engine ever made on the western shores of the Father of Waters, and of founding thereon its greatest factory for the manufacture of the marvellous machines of imperial progress in all things that most and best promote human power, production, and comfort. Most true it is that

> "There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough hew them how we will."

The name of Krupp is of world-renown under the devilish

sentiment that still makes success in cruel and barbarous war of the highest favor and worship with men and also women. But such creators as Gaty are incomparably more entitled to our esteem and gratitude, whose creations enable man to make the soil produce more plentifully, the ores supply increased powers and facilities for the common good, and the waters to quicken and expedite the exchanges between man and man in all the products of every zone and latitude. The highest art of the disciples of Vulcan is not now for the fabrication of the shield, the spear, and the helmet, but of the plough, the reaper, and the thrasher.

We willingly forgive Venus for seducing Vulcan into the making of invulnerable armor for human slaughter, because by him she bore to the world Cupid, through whose divinity she provided that love, rather than arms, should eventually conquer for the promotion of man's highest culture and noblest advancement. Besides, it was Vulcan's anvil-sounds that suggested the theory of music, whose power, next to that of Love, was to exalt the soul.

Therefore the disciples of the begrimed blacksmith of Etna are entitled to our most affectionate regard and rational honors. From them it is our pride and pleasure to select our Mr. Gaty for such regard and honors, as one conspicuous above those of his craft who, as pioneers in the American wilderness, set up the moulding forge and blew the fiery blasts that should convert it into a garden for the world's sustenance and into a just empire for its teeming and ultimate millions. The portraits of Daniel Boone and of Samuel Gaty, hung up in our gallery of historical portraits, as much, if not more than any others, declare at sight the history of the forces that converted a savage territory into the homes, the industries, the enjoyments and the exaltation of inhabitants, nobly exemplifying the merits

of the van of the advancing march of man's progress toward his "pride of place" as foreordained at the "beginning." They will also exhibit singularly attractive examples of the success and the fame that dauntless moral courage, indomitable will, and independent self-reliance may always achieve in the service and arts of peace, most nobly illustrating that —

> "Peace hath her victories
> No less renown'd than war."

Whoever, by word or deed, multiplies this sentiment, deserves the honor and gratitude as well of his fellow-men and of his country as he who makes "two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before." The latter helps to an universal plenty, the former to an universal love and peace for its enjoyment. For the moral and formative influence of the family sentiments and the national character, in most esteem and of most pride, for the time being, family portraits and national galleries of eminently celebrated public men have ever been patronized and established. Those most distinguished in arms have had the preference, for which reason, with others germane to and illustrative of it, some philosophers have insisted that war was man's normal condition. The portrait or statue of the "man on horseback" most often adorns the halls and grounds of our State Capitols and those of the nation in Washington. Thus far man's progress for intelligent being and equal rights has been a constant battle. The intervals of peace have only been periods for the accumulation of new, rising, and developing forces, whose ultimate end has been, and had to be, the field of Mars. Hence, thus far the influence of the warrior's plume has been more needed than the broadbrim of the Quaker. But the reason for this is being sensibly weakened

by the increasing sentiments in favor of equal justice, loving peace, and general plenty. Our family and public portraits and statues will, with equal step, be chosen for coöperation in their exemplary influences. This night our halls become honored and distinguished by two of them, whose influence, like the locomotive's headlight, boldly leads the enterprising and ambitious in the direction of ennobling progress into and through the darkest and most dangerous of pathless wilds.

And, Mr. President, how fortunate we are that these "counterfeit presentments" of two such representative men should also enjoy the halo, as it were, of the exalted prestige of two artists whose skill and genius can so impressively and nearly keep alive in form and face, for our hearthstone enjoyments and our public admiration, the endeared and honored! Chester Harding, who painted Boone, was a pioneer in American portrait-painting, and was a self-made artist. He began his career as a chair-maker, under the unconscious impulse that his future would be devoted to sitters. Years before his death, his associates were such "tall spirits" as Seward, Choate, Everett, and Webster, and at his death, if not the first of living portrait-painters, he was among the foremost. His works adorn private and public halls on this side of the Mississippi as well as on the other, and among the largest is that of the greatest of our Western pioneers, one of its boldest soldiers and its most daring explorers, the last Territorial Governor of Missouri, William Clark. This portrait is now hung on the walls of the Mercantile Library Association, but should be within the halls of this. And of Alban I. Conant, the painter of the Gaty portrait, what need be said to add to his artistic fame, local and national? Posterity may be told that in his portraits of Lincoln and Sherman, they may see

those great historic men in their life-like lineaments, truthful and not ideal, as Lafayette, when he visited Richmond, upon seeing Houdon's Washington in Virginia's Capitol, said, "Tell all Americans that in that statue the veritable Washington, in truthful lineaments, appeared in all his grand simplicity and noble dignity."

In the chambers of trade and in the halls of learning in our midst are exhibited portraits of those deceased especially distinguished for their professional merits and eminently useful by their example, limned by his master pencil, and so realistically as to perpetuate their originals in almost a continued living presence.

And then in our houses and throughout the country, in the family-room, are souvenirs both of the living and of the dead, from his brush, that keep the home circle, in a measure, ever present for the eye's delight and the heart's affections. The time will come when the owner of a "Conant" will be congratulated, if not envied. This Society will ever hereafter enjoy this gratification.

Mr. President, this occasion is most fitly supplemented by the active participation therein of the venerable John F. Darby, one of the few remaining links that connect our local life and memories of the first with the last score of the nineteenth century. In his career he has performed parts that make his name eminently historical in the annals of this city, the history of this State, and in the national records. As the nestor of his profession in this State and as our most eminent citizen, the general public "is much bound to him;" and especially does this Society feel proud of him as one of its founders, and is largely beholden to him as one of its continued contributors of our local and State folk-lore, and of their racy illustrative anecdotes of rare enjoyment, and of special biographies replete with unique and useful informa-

tion. And now, Mr. President, in the name of the Missouri Historical Society these valued portraits are received, to be kept within its halls for a perpetual honor and remembrance of their originals and for the instruction and appreciation of the generations that shall follow ours.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SAMUEL GATY.

Samuel Gaty was born in Jefferson County, Kentucky, on the tenth day of August, 1811. His ancestors were of German origin, and settled in Pennsylvania at an early period of the country's history, founding the town of Gettysburg. His grandfather married into the Markel family. John Getty, the father of the subject of this sketch, married Eva Henderliter and commenced life in the then young State of Kentucky. At the age of seven Samuel Gaty was left an orphan, with no legacy save a well-formed body and a strong constitution.

The family name was "*Getty*" — this was the way the father spelled it; but when Samuel went to school his teacher wrote it "*Gaty*," and he was not made acquainted with the fact that it had been spelled differently until some years after he had engaged in business for himself in St. Louis. The six months' instruction he received from this teacher — who changed his name — was all the schooling he ever had.

Just prior to his father's death Samuel was apprenticed to a man who seemed to care but little for his welfare, and afforded him no means of instruction. Four years later, when eleven years of age, he ran away to Louisville, where he apprenticed himself to the firm of Prentice & Beckwell, who carried on the machinery and foundry business. Three years later Mr. Prentice died, and was succeeded in business by William Keffer, to whom young Gaty apprenticed himself

for an additional two years, at a salary of $3.50 per week, and $150 at the termination of his term.

In the month of October, 1828, Mr. Gaty, John Morton, Jr., and a young man named Richards concluded to try the "*far West*," and in the latter part of the month arrived in St. Louis, and started a small foundry near the south-east corner of Second and Cherry Streets. In a few months Mr. Gaty sold his interest in the business to Col. Martin Thomas, and towards the close of the year 1829 returned to Louisville and worked a while as a journeyman.

The following incident is related as an illustration of the difficulties mechanics labored under in the early days of the iron interests in St. Louis: —

Not long after Mr. Gaty sold his business to Col. Martin Thomas, a Mr. Peter McQueen, of New York State, leased the establishment and went home to make arrangements for commencing the business. Young Gaty and Morton were out of employment, but waited for McQueen's return. When he arrived, Mr. Newell, Mr. Gaty's friend, called on him and stated that there were two very excellent mechanics waiting to be employed by him. McQueen replied that he did not think he could employ them, as he would bring all his men, who were skilled mechanics, from the East. This was quite a blow to the young men's prospects, but they resolved to await the turn of events. In the meantime the steamer Jubilee had broken a shaft, and the captain went to Mr. McQueen's foundry to get one cast. The proprietor said he could make the patterns and mould one, but his men could not melt the iron in an air-furnace, having been accustomed to a cupola.

Mr. Gaty's friend Newell overheard the conversation, and told McQueen that Samuel Gaty could melt the iron for him. McQueen then went to Gaty and asked him if he would

melt the iron. He replied that he would. "What will you charge?" said the former. "One half the whole price," said Gaty. McQueen said that was too much. "All right," said Gaty, "get your skilled workmen from the East to do it." McQueen finally concluded to pay the price asked, and Gaty melted the iron in a few hours, getting a very good casting; but after it was cast it was ascertained that there was not a geared lathe in the city. While McQueen and the captain of the Jubilee were discussing whether or not they should send to Louisville to have the shaft turned, Mr. Newell overheard them, and told them Gaty could do that job also. McQueen came to Gaty and asked him if he could do it. He said he could. "But how?" said McQueen. "That is my business," said Gaty, "but I can do it." He was employed to do the job at a liberal price, and this is the way he did it: He found two cog-wheels, and bolted the larger one on the face-plate of the lathe and the smaller one on the centre shaft, supported by a wooden structure. By this means he had the necessary power to turn it within a day and a half.

In the month of September, 1830, Mr. Louis Newell wrote Gaty to return to St. Louis, and he (Newell) would assist him in erecting a foundry. Gaty consented, and arrived in November, and immediately had the foundation laid for the intended building. In the spring he made the fire-brick for his furnace, built the furnace, and took the first heat on the fourth day of July, 1831. The first castings made were for Capt. C. Swon, of the steamer Carrolton, and were of excellent quality. This furnace worked well and was used for twenty years afterwards. As a matter of history it may not be out of place to mention that Samuel Gaty, upon his first visit to this city, made the first casting ever molded in

St. Louis, and built the first engine ever constructed west of the Mississippi River.

In the course of time Mr. Felix Coonce became a partner, and the firm name was Gaty & Coonce; subsequently it was changed to Gaty, Coonce & Morton, Gaty, Coonce & Beltshoover, Gaty, Coonce & Glasby, and Gaty, McCune & Glasby.

In 1840 the business assumed important proportions. The amount of work was large, and the needs and resources of the country were rapidly increasing. In 1849 Gerard B. Allen was admitted a member of the firm, and its style was changed to Gaty, McCune & Co. Subsequently James Collins, Wm. H. Stone, and Amos Howe were admitted as copartners, and the firm continued in business until July, 1862, when it was dissolved. Gaty and McCune retired from the foundry business, and were succeeded by the junior partners, under the firm name of Stone & Howe. The foundry in its day was one of the most extensive manufacturing establishments of its class in the whole Valley of the Mississippi. It was bounded by Main, Second, Cherry, and Morgan Streets; the block is now built up with large stone-front buildings.

Samuel Gaty was married to Miss Eliza J. Burbridge in 1843, and is the father of thirteen children, eight of whom are living. Mr. Gaty was a member of the Board of Aldermen and of the City Council from 1838 to 1842, and assisted in framing and passing ordinances by which many public institutions were established, streets laid out, and improvements made for the benefit of the young city of St. Louis. He has declined many places of honor and emolument, preferring to follow as closely as possible the business which he established, and for which he deemed himself best fitted.

Mr. Gaty has lived to see his expectations concerning St.

Louis more than realized. The little French village on the west bank of the Mississippi has, during his lifetime, assumed the dimensions of the largest inland city of the United States, and second to no one of them in the character and capacity of its manufactures; and in the place of his little air-furnace of four tons capacity, hundreds of cupolas and furnaces are being operated, producing hundreds of tons of iron. He looks back with pride upon the success of an important industry of which he may be termed the pioneer in St. Louis.

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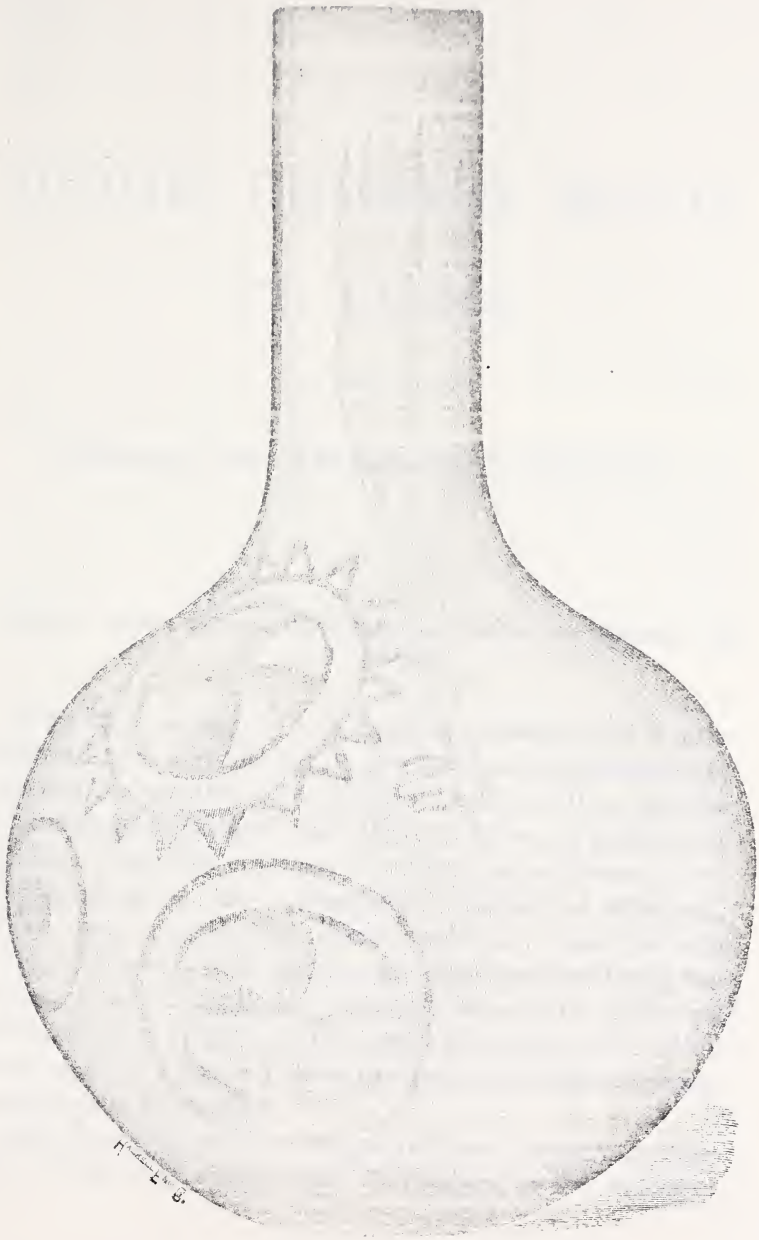


VESSEL FROM MOUND IN SOUTHEAST MISSOURI.

(Height, 8 1-2 inches. Diameter, 6 inches.)

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ST. LOUIS.

Notes on the Archæology of Missouri.

A Paper read before the Missouri Historical Society, by F. F. Hilder.

The fact is proved by incontestible evidence that in prehistoric times, the country on the banks of the Mississippi, between the mouths of the Missouri and the Ohio, was the most densely populated part of the Northern Continent of America; but that evidence is nowhere so striking and so multiplied as in the southeastern counties of Missouri, where over hundreds of square miles are scattered the vestiges of towns and settlements that were evidently the homes of a vast multitude of people, who were far in advance, in every respect, of the savage tribes who were found in possession of the soil when the great river was first navigated by the white man.

The advancing waves of the great tide of modern civilization, which has swept over the region in its westward

progress, has obliterated a very large proportion of the ancient works, and effaced the traces of habitations where large towns once flourished; but enough still remain to yield a rich harvest to the patient explorer, and to add new chapters to the records of American archæology.

It is a source of unceasing regret among all cultivated people in this region, which will increase and become more intense as years roll on, that, while by the spread of culture and refinement, the taste for scientific research will increase, year by year, the priceless relics of the past will become scarcer and more difficult to obtain, and that the specimens which should enrich the museums of America, are being scattered over every civilized land.

Neither the State of Missouri, nor the city of St. Louis, has ever expended a single dollar in preserving the antiquities of the State, or even in forming a catalogue or history of them. What little has been done, has been the work of a few private individuals, and by the feeble and intermittent efforts of scientific societies, whose action is impeded by want of funds necessary to attempt anything better.

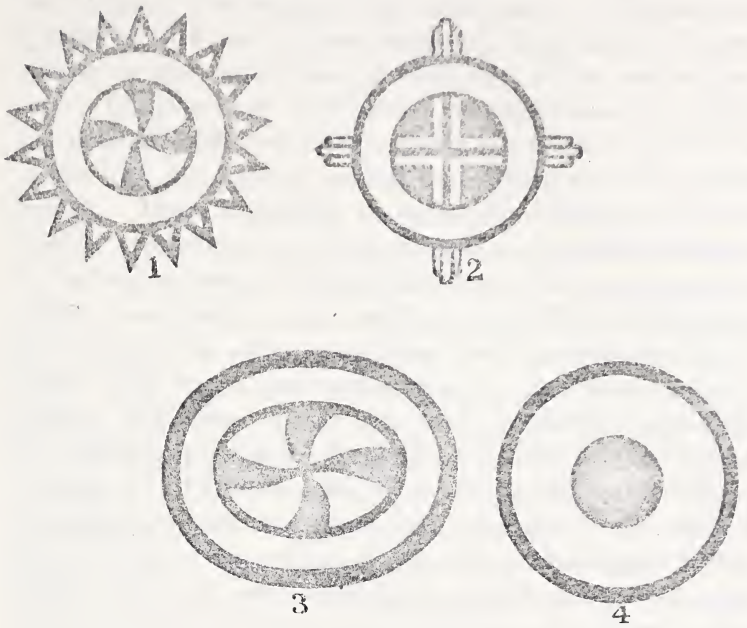
While this condition of apathy exists among our citizens, speculators and dealers, principally from Eastern cities, are sending their agents among the farmers to offer them payment for every specimen they can obtain. The consequence is, that relics, many of them invaluable for the purpose of study, are packed in barrels and sent off as merchandise, or to enrich the museums of Europe; and what is worse, great numbers of interesting earthen monuments are destroyed, for the mere purpose of obtaining such articles of pottery and other relics as they may contain, thus forever rendering it impossible to examine, describe, or record them.

In this depressing condition of affairs, all that remains to be done by residents of the Mississippi Valley who feel interested in saving such fragments as they may be able to

rescue, is to add their mite to the store of archæological knowledge, by taking careful notes of every interesting relic that may come under their observation, and to accurately describe it, so that in case of its loss or destruction the record may remain. In an earnest article on this subject, a recent writer says: "The collection of relics may not seem to be important, or a single specimen appear to be of any particular value, but the data of the science are thus obtained and a single relic may give a clue which shall lead to wonderful discoveries or reveal a whole gallery of prehistoric pictures.[1] It is with this idea and purpose that I attempt in this paper to describe a most interesting vessel, now in my possession, which was taken from a mound in Mississippi County, Missouri.

The vessel is in shape and dimensions like many hundreds of others that have been taken from the mounds of this region, which have evidently been used to contain liquids; but it differs from the majority of them in the material of which it is composed, which is much finer in quality, and is a light-colored, fine-grained, yellowish clay, which has been well baked. It is eight and a half inches high and six inches in diameter at its widest part, and very symmetrical in form, with a bottom just sufficiently flattened to enable it to stand firmly. It is, however, the beautiful and artistic decoration of this unique and interesting vessel, that gives it its especial value to the student of archæology. On the bottom and extending one and a-half inches upward the color is red, above that line it has originally been painted white, but only a portion of its surface retains that color, on the remainder it has disappeared, leaving the yellow color of the material of which it is composed to form the back-ground for the decorations, which consist of the following figures: —

[1] Rev. S. D. Peet, in "The American Antiquarian."



Nos. 1 and 2 being each repeated twice, and Nos. 3 and 4 four times. These are of a brilliant red color, that in spite of the evident antiquity of the relic, still retains its bright hue in a most remarkable manner.

The symbolic character of all these devices is so evident, that it is impossible to mistake their meaning. They are all well known emblems of that solar worship which was so prominent in all the primitive religions of the world, that it has completed the circuit of the habitable globe. As such, they form an important item in the evidence to establish the fact that the symbolism employed by the ancient inhabitants of this region was far too refined and abstract to have been the outgrowth of the religious ideas of nomadic tribes of savage hunters and warriors; and that it bore a close analogy to, if not absolutely identical with, that in use among the nations of the central part of the continent when

invaded by the Spaniards. In a recently published article on "Ancient Symbology," the author says: "We have no sympathy with the extreme abuse of the principle of symbolism in the explanation of antiquity, which was so common a few years ago, particularly among Orientalists, which has created such a re-action, giving rise to the opposite extreme with the majority of the investigators of the present period. There is perhaps no principle so liable to abuse as that of symbolism in the interpretation of ancient systems, in the employment of which, therefore, it is so necessary to adhere constantly to the solid ground of fact, restraining all tendency to mere speculation and unauthorized statement. But there was such a thing as symbolic art in antiquity, and those in our day who practically ignore this fact will never get at the truth that lies hidden in the ancient systems."[1] These remarks are especially applicable to many investigators who have given their attention to the study of the remains of the ancient races of the Mississippi Valley. While some are only too ready to ascribe every ornamental device, however simple, to a mysterious symbolism, others prejudiced in favor of an opposite view, seem almost to reject the evidence of their senses, and resolutely shut their eyes to even the plainest and most remarkable vestiges of ancient religious emblems. Even a gentleman so well known and respected for his scientific attainments, and so well versed in all that appertains to the exploration of the ancient works of the American aborigines, as Professor F. W. Putnam, allows himself at times to be so influenced by a pre-conceived opinion against the symbolical character of well known religious emblems, as to attribute them to mere accidental resemblances. In speaking of a copper ornament of cross shape, found in a stone grave in Tennessee, Professor Putnam says: "I think it must be placed in the

[1] Rev. O. D. Miller, on "Symbolical Geography of the Ancients."

same category with the 'Tablet of the Cross' at Palenque, and be regarded as an ornament made in its present form simply because it was an easy design to execute, and one of natural conception."[1] Professor Charles Rau, of the Smithsonian Institute, who cannot be accused of any leaning towards mysticism, or giving undue prominence to symbolism, takes an opposite position; in an able work on the Palenque tablet, he says: "The cross certainly was a symbol in the old world in the ages anteceding the Christian era, and in the new, long before Columbus unfurled the banner of Castile and Leon on the shore of Guanahani." Also in another part of the same work: "It has been shown by the preceding examples, which could be considerably multiplied if it were deemed necessary, that the cross was recognized as a symbol among the more advanced nations of America." It is certain, from the testimony of many of the early Spanish writers, who allude frequently to crosses seen by the European invaders, in every part of the American continent to which they penetrated, that from time immemorial the emblem had been venerated as sacred, alike by Aztecs, Toltecs, and Peruvians; in fact, so universally was it revered by the ancient people of America that Gomara, the Spanish historian, says: "This veneration of the cross made them more ready to adopt the Christian symbol."

Among the ancient inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley, no religious emblem appears to have been held in such high esteem as the cross. Almost without an exception, every explorer of the ancient mounds and tombs has met with numerous examples, painted on vases and other ceramic articles, embossed on copper plates, in a kind of rude *repousse* work, or engraved on shells, and every writer of prominence on the subject of the antiquities of this region has remarked it. Dr. Joseph Jones, in describing many in-

[1] Report of Peabody Museum.

stances of the discovery of crosses in the ancient sepulchres of Tennessee, says: "These facts may be viewed by some as indicating that the inhabitants of America have, at various times, come in contact with the civilizations and religions of Asia and Europe, even before the recognized period of the discovery and exploration of the American continent; and when considered in connection with the results of my explorations of the aboriginal remains of Tennessee, it is clearly established, that in the absence of historical records, it is difficult, and perhaps impossible, to form a correct judgment of even the approximate age of the aboriginal mounds and stone graves of Tennessee, merely from the discovery of copper crosses and certain symbolic paintings on earthen vessels. The more important inference appears to be that the mound-builders and stone-grave race of the Mississippi Valley had a common origin or near affinity with the aboriginal inhabitants of Mexico and Central America."[1] This latter conclusion is doubtless correct, and every day brings fresh evidence to prove its truth.

Mr. S. B. Evans has been recently exploring under the auspices of the Chicago *Times*, with the object primarily and prominently to throw light on the origin of the mound-building races of the Mississippi Valley, and to find, if it exists, the analogy between their works and those of the pyramid-builders of the Valley of Mexico. Beginning in Minnesota, he has, by personal survey, traced the mound-builders to the gulf, and found an unbroken chain of their curious works down the Valley of the Mississippi, with colonies on the principal tributaries traversing the States that border on the great stream. Mounds were found along the entire route, and on the shores of the gulf. Crossing into Mexico, the chain, dropped in the sea at Galveston, was

[1] "Explorations of the Aboriginal Remains of Tennessee," published by Smithsonian Institute, 1876.

recovered near Vera Cruz. On the plain of Cholula is a mound, that if transferred to Cahokia, would fit the landscape, and appear in keeping with the general plan of the works. On the other hand, if the great mound of Cahokia were brought in presence of Popocatapetl, it would not be abashed, but be a fit companion for the pyramid. The pyramids of the sun and moon at Teotlihuacon would be mounds in Virginia and Ohio, and the great mounds of Grave Creek and Seltzertown might embellish the ancient "City of the Gods." Excavations were made in Mexican mounds, as they were made in the United States, and, substantially, the results were the same; tombs in some mounds, altars in others, and nothing in a few. Pottery was found with the lines of ornamentation the same as that discovered in Arkansas; heads of idols the counterpart of those found in Tennessee; children's toys from each, that might have been produced from the same mould, and skulls from the tombs of San Juan, with the same peculiar flattening of the occipital region that distinguishes the skulls of the mound-builders wherever they are found in the United States. The presence of an intrusive race was easily detected, and the comment made that it was impossible for the Aztecs to have been the builders of the pyramids or any of the works of antiquity in that region. This, Mr. Evans thinks, he has demonstrated since, and produced absolute proofs, through investigations made in New Mexico. The Aztecs were not then, or at any time, a mound-building race, and there are no mounds in New Mexico, from whence they sprung. Mr. Evans concludes: "It will now be seen how necessary it was to investigate the antiquities of this territory in order to throw light on those of Mexico and the States. With the evidence all in, let us recapitulate and see what we have gained. Investigations have established the following as facts:

"I. The mounds of the United States were made by the

same race that built the mounds of Mexico. Proven by close resemblance between the works; by implements used in common; similar manner of burial, and skulls from the tombs of each locality.

"II. The mounds of Mexico antedate Aztec occupation. Proven by records that the Aztecs did not enter the valley until the close of the thirteenth century; by investigation that the mounds contain skulls that are not Aztec; that they contain specimens of the plastic art that could not have come from the hand of an Aztec.

"III. The Aztecs were not a mound-building race. Proven by investigation in New Mexico, disclosing the fact that there are no temple, sacrificial, or burial mounds in the land from which they come; that they build no mounds here, and built none in Mexico from the time the Spaniards occupied the country, in 1520, until the present, and it was a physical impossibility, even though they had the knowledge, to have erected all the mounds and pyramids in Mexico, during the space of time that elapsed from their entry into the valley until its occupation by the Spaniards."[1]

A similar conclusion was arrived at by E. G. Squier; he says: "The resemblances between the more regular or temple mounds of the United States, and the high altars or pyramidal sacred structures of Mexico and Central America are, as we have already said, so obvious, that no space need be occupied in pointing them out."[2]

In fact, throughout Mexico, Central America and even southward as far as Peru, we find almost the same combination of mounds, terraces, and pyramids which we observe in the Mississippi Valley. A careful digest of all the evidence that has been accumulated during the past thirty years leads us irresistibly towards the following inferences:

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[1] Kansas City *Review*, March, 1882.

[2] E. G. Squier — "American Archæological Researches."

1. That there existed in Mexico and Central America an older civilization and that of a far higher order than attained by the Aztecs.

2. That the race who originated that civilization in Mexico were Toltecs or Nahuas, and that they were identical with the mound builders of the great country watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries.

From the articles found in the mounds of the Mississippi Valley it is certain that their builders maintained a system of internal travel and intercourse that extended over a very large portion of the continent. We find articles of copper made from metal that is proved by certain natural peculiarities to have been obtained from the ancient mines on the shore of Lake Superior, mica from the mountains of North Carolina, catlinite or red pipe-stone from western Minnesota, sea-shells from the Gulf of Mexico. Obsidian, which was also so largely used for cutting implements, by the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians, is not found in its natural state nearer than the Mexican mountains. As a further proof of their communication with Mexico, and also with South America, several Mexican metates, used for grinding corn have been exhumed in Missouri, and from a mound in Marion County, Ohio, evidently, from the condition of the human bones found in it, of very great antiquity, has been taken one of those curious *canopas*, or household gods, in the shape of a llama, with the cavity in the back for receiving grains of corn as sacrifice, which are peculiar to the ancient Peruvians.

These facts all tend to prove that there lies in the past a history which by patient and persistent effort may be rewritten, for which purpose no material is more valuable than relics which serve to illustrate the religious ideas and mythology of these primitive races. Humboldt distinctly pointed out the value of this line of research; he says: "Any facts that may hereafter be discovered in America

respecting the remains of a sacerdotal caste, appear to me calculated to excite great interest, on account of those priest-kings of Peru, who style themselves 'The Children of the Sun,' and of those 'Sun-kings' among the Natchez, who recall to mind the Heliades of the first eastern colony of Rhodes." [1] An eminent writer on Oriental history also says: "However important may be the study of military, civil, and political history, the science of nations is incomplete without mythological history, and he is little imbued with the spirit of philosophy, who can perceive in the fables of antiquity nothing but the extravagance of a fervid imagination." [2]

In the present state of our knowledge respecting the mound-building people of this valley, it is perhaps judicious to refrain from advancing any theories as to their possible connection with the races of the old world, or as to the sources from which they derived their religion, institutions, or art; but for the purpose of increasing that knowledge, and perhaps hastening the time when we may be able to dispel the clouds which now obscure the subject, it is requisite that we carefully preserve and record every relic that may be found which seems to serve as an illustration of their religious worship or mythology. It is certainly not correct, in either a scientific or philosophic sense, to ignore their symbology or to class the symbols themselves as mere accidental resemblances to forms in use in the old world, or as having been used for decorative purposes only.

With the exception of the cross, there is no symbol more closely identified with ancient worship of the sun and the reciprocal principles of nature, than the serpent. A well-known writer on the subject, says: "That the serpent was intimately connected with Sabaism cannot be doubted, for

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[1] A. von Humboldt — "Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America."
[2] Tod's "Rajasthan."

the most prevailing emblem of the solar god was the serpent: and wherever the Sabæan idolatry was the religion, the serpent was the sacred symbol. But the universality of serpent worship, and the strong traces which it has left in astronomical mythology, seem to attest an origin coeval with Sabaism itself."[1] This view of the subject is also supported by C. Staniland Wake, in his work, "The Origin of Serpent Worship." E. G. Squier proves that this symbol was as prevalent in America as in the old world, he says: "It will be seen that the serpent symbol was of general acceptance in America, particularly among the semi-civilized nations; that it entered widely into their symbolic representations, and that its significance was essentially the same with that which attached to it among the early nations of the old continent."[2]

In spite of such testimony, when in Missouri a number of articles have been found bearing the serpent device, a writer in describing some of the vessels, in a work published under the auspices of the St. Louis Academy of Science, says: "The simplest animal form in our collection is that of the serpent. Of course, it has been inferred that the serpent was an object of worship among the mound-builders, especially by those who believe with Prof. Sayce, of Oxford, that the serpent symbol marks a particular stage in the history of natural religion. The abundance of snakes in the region inhabited by the ancient potters and the ease with which the form of the serpent can be reproduced, both in painting and in plastic art, probably account for its frequent occurrence as an ornament more satisfactorily."

The "frequent occurrence" of such statements as the above, in publications on American antiquities, seems to point to the motive for making them, which is, that, like

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[1] Deane — "Serpent Worship," p. 39.

[2] E. G. Squier — "The Serpent Symbol in America."

the object attributed to the ancient potter in using the serpent device, it is very easy and saves the writer from the trouble of investigation and research.

In order to do service to the cause of scientific inquiry, every device bearing the slightest analogy to those known to have been used elsewhere as religious symbols, should be carefully recorded and preserved for future use; as it is only by the accumulation of such facts that any just estimate can be formed of the religious conceptions of the ancient American races, and their bearing, by coincidence and resemblance, on the religious systems of other countries, and from which we might reasonably infer a community of origin or a connection more or less remote.

As already stated, the cross on the vessel previously described, is a well known emblem of sun worship, but in this instance its meaning is rendered plainer by the rays of the sun, which encircle figure No. 1, and the use of figure No. 4 in conjunction with the other symbols. This device is recognized as typifying the sun in nearly every part of the world where its worship was established. It is found on the ancient monuments of Egypt and India, and is still used in Hindostan and China as the astronomical symbol of the sun. As a curious instance of the survival of ancient symbolism, even in the midst of our modern civilization, the same sign is still used in our almanacs and calenders to represent the sun. If but one of the symbols had appeared on the vessel there might be some reason in the supposition that it was a mere ornamental device; but when several are combined, the evidence becomes remarkably strong that they are religious emblems, and that this vessel has been devoted to religious purposes. As such, it is the primary purpose of this paper to illustrate and describe it, as a contribution to the materials for the use of American archæologists in their labor of removing the veil of mystery that covers the history of the ancient people who dwelt on the shores of the "Great River" and its tributaries.

Missouri
Historical Society.

Publication No. 7.

President's Annual Address.

Leighton.

MISSOURI

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PUBLICATION NO. 7.

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ST. LOUIS.

ANNUAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT,
GEO. E. LEIGHTON. JAN. 16, 1883.

Gentlemen of the Historical Society:—

In entering upon the seventeenth year of the existence of our Society, it seems to be imperative that we consider the question of the necessity for its existence, and the value of its possible work: — that we determine once more, for ourselves, whether any results to be reasonably expected will pay for the effort to maintain it, — and whether the causes of its want of recognition and support are not simply transient and capable of removal.

In a city of four hundred thousand inhabitants, representing every creed and race, the Historical Society, after sixteen years of struggling existence, numbers only one hundred and thirty members. By sufferance, its accumulations, of great value even in a purely commercial sense, are stored in the basement of a public building, inaccessible for any purpose of

study or curiosity. It has no debt, and has about one thousand dollars in its permanent fund. It has no place of meeting assured, no place for displaying its historic and archæological collection, which, including books, manuscripts, and articles of historic or archæological interest, will number over twelve thousand objects.

The inference from this statement is a very natural one — St. Louis has no use for a Historical Society. Is this inference fair, and is it conclusive? Has the city no use for such a society, and can the city afford to see the effort to place it upon a firm and lasting basis fail?

Every chief city, and many of the secondary cities of the country, have found it to their interest and advantage to maintain institutions of this character. Of all the larger cities, St. Louis has done the least. Chicago and Cincinnati, among Western cities, have sustained their societies in healthy and vigorous activity. The State Associations of Ohio, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Kansas, and Louisiana, aided in some degree by State appropriations, have for years been active and have accumulated collections of great interest and value. With the exception of Illinois and Louisiana — perhaps not even these — not one of these States has a history so interesting, even to the most general reader, as that of our own.

Involved, as it was in its earliest period, in the great political game of the eighteenth century — the possession of France and Spain in succession, and St. Louis itself the military and civil capital of a district extending from the Arkansas to the British line and west-

ward to the mountains, it bears a picturesque history. There is in it as much to charm and attract as New England has found in the colonial life of the Pilgrims, or New York in the colonial life of the New Netherlands. But they do not charm or attract. Is the fault with ourselves, and must we admit that this great city, eager in the race for commercial supremacy, finds nothing worth consideration in the history of its origin or development, or in the lives of those who have made possible the busy industry and progress of to-day?

I appreciate in its full force, that human feeling, which in a race so restless and migratory as ours, retains a love and veneration for the old home. The heart of the New Englander is still bound by the silver chord to Faneuil Hall and Plymouth Rock and Bunker Hill; — of the Virginian to Mt. Vernon and Yorktown and Monticello; and so of those who come from other States or countries. The least has its sacred historic shrines. I would not sunder such hallowed associations, but just so far as we now accept St. Louis as our permanent home, and not a merely temporary abiding place, I would enshrine all that we have of honor or interest or affection here, in this new home. We may be proud, indeed, that Massachusetts, or Virginia, or Kentucky, or New York, gave us birth; but we must not forget that our children will call Missouri their mother State. It is for us to write in honor, whatever is characteristic and worthy of remembrance in her history.

The colonial history of this central portion of the great valley is rich in instruction and interest. Maj. Stoddard, in the preface to his history published in

Paris, in 1763, gave to England Canada, the most precious colony of France, extended her sovereignty westward to the banks of the Mississippi, and so established English dominion on this continent, that the eventual acquisition of the Province of Louisiana was expected to follow as a natural political sequence. The successful revolt of the colonies, by which the English flag disappeared from the Mississippi — only transferred from England to the United States the heirship of the remaining French domain. It is a significant fact that the best descriptions we have of the people and the condition of the French settlements of the Mississippi at this period, come from Jeffreys, in 1762, and Pitman, in 1767; both acting directly in furnishing the English government with a careful estimate of the commercial, agricultural and military value of the French domain of Louisiana. There is another significant fact worth mentioning here, that almost all we know of these settlements comes to us from European travellers. The Puritans and cavaliers, the Dutch and the Huguenots in the Eastern colonies, themselves recorded the history they were making: and it will be a remarkable instance of the utter indifference of a people to their own history and traditions if there are not rich treasures of the social history of this period still ungathered in the old church and family records of St. Louis, Kaskaskia, Ste. Genevieve, Florissant and St. Charles; and there must still be in the French and Spanish archives many valuable reports from colonial governors easily accessible, only waiting the application of some patient student who will do for this

central valley what Parkman has so well done for Canada and French for Lower Louisiana.

The period to the colonists was not rich in those great events which force themselves upon the attention of the world. Their lives were Arcadian in their simplicity. Following the spirit of the French colonists everywhere, they preserved peace with the Indians in a remarkable degree, and they give us none of the incidents of border warfare so characteristic of the English settlements. So little were they interested in those great questions which were agitating Europe and the Eastern colonies during the last half of the eighteenth century, that their little epochs were measured by their own little events, which grew in importance and character as they were repeated from father to son. I fear that a rash historical iconoclast, pushing his investigations far into the dim past, has taken from what was, until recently, deemed veritable history, the greatest single event in the colonial history of St. Louis. I will not anticipate the result of his patient and thorough research. If the loose statements and scattered reminiscences floating on the stream of time, when subjected to the refining process which the student brings to test them, fail to sustain the popular tradition, the tradition must be given up.

But if we cannot all become interested in this period of our history, we can in that immediately following. Even before the acquisition of this territory from France, the pioneer American had crossed the Mississippi, and St. Louis, and the contiguous territory, was beginning to feel a new impulse in its life. Immediately after the acquisition the stream com-

menced to flow, which has overwhelmed in its surging tide, the little civilization which had so prospered in peace and contentment under the dominion of France. It brought with it three new elements of activity, — the politician, the merchant, and the land speculator, — each of which played an important part in the history of this city during the first quarter of this century. With the politician came the strife of partisan conflict, — more fierce then than now. With the merchant came the larger *bateau*, the more frequent voyage to the gulf, and a closer relation to the States. With the land speculator came the explorations for mineral wealth, multiplicity of corner lots, opposition to public improvements, and contested titles.

With these came soon that *sine qua non* of the American, — the newspaper, and following soon, in 1817, the steamboat.

To one who has not had occasion to refer to this period (the first quarter of the present century), it is remarkable how little exists, in an accessible form, of the history even of this period. I am careful to say "in an accessible form," for the time is too recent to admit of the supposition that a full and abundant history may not yet be written; but this great city of St. Louis sits still and sees the hand of neglect waste and destroy forever these public and private records from which alone it is possible to write it.

The records now owned by the society are many and valuable, but they are as absolutely inaccessible for any purpose of reference or investigation, as if they were in London. But there are immense numbers of

valuable papers of which we already know, now in private hands, which we have been assured will be given to the society whenever there is such assurance of its permanence and their safety as will justify their final disposition to its care.

Any philosophical history of St. Louis is yet to be written. We have several more or less satisfactory narratives of events, each heedlessly perpetuating and emphasizing the errors of its predecessors. These, when carefully examined and their errors eliminated, may help to write history, but they are but portions of the greater story. It is a work yet to do, to analyze the operating causes of our development. How the French trading port became the village; why the settlement of Laclede at St. Louis was more prosperous than that of Blanchette Chasseur at St. Charles, of Beaurosier Dunegant at Florissant, or that of Delor de Tregette at Carondelet, or that of George Morgan at New Madrid; how the village was socially and politically affected by the successive dominion of France, Spain, and the United States, or by the personal influence of the successive Governors of Upper Louisiana; how the first couriers from the Eastern States, like Easton, and Bent, and Clark, weak in numbers, but strong in individuality, sowed the seeds of American manners and methods, and awakened the spirit of commercial life; how the succeeding emigration from the States of which Benton, Hempstead, Barton, Reddick, Bates, and Charless, were the representatives, impressed its social and political character; how the later emigration from New England, with its exalted appreciation of the value of educational and associated benevolent work, af-

fected its development; how the German emigration, following the revolutionary movement of 1848, full of grand ideas of political and religious freedom, impressed its influence upon it; how this city affected, and was affected by, the civil war; the history of the development of our public works; the effect of the institution of slavery on the growth and development of the city, and many others, which might be stated, are questions for exhaustive study, not to be solved by the mere compilation of commercial and manufacturing statistics, or the mere narrative of concrete events. It is not difficult to discern on the surface the operation of many of the influences I have referred to, for long years after the initial movement commenced.

But I will not go further in this direction. I am but suggesting, in a very general way, some of the work, and, perhaps, not the most important, yet to be done, and which can only be well and properly done when we have gathered into some secure and accessible place the materials for systematic study and exhaustive research. It is late in a country where so little deference is paid to memorials of past history to commence such a work, but it is only one hundred and eighteen years since Laclede landed upon our river bank, and there are many men yet living who have frequently and intimately conversed with at least two of his companions. There are men yet living whose memory covers almost the whole period since the acquisition from France.

I may remark here, with some knowledge of what has been done from its inception three years ago, that the article on St. Louis in the forthcoming vol-

ume of the Census will, in my opinion, be the best condensed summary of the history of St. Louis that has yet been prepared, or that could be prepared from accessible sources.

I have been speaking of general interests connected with our local history. Are there not personal associations which arouse our sense of pride in our city, and which ought to have a more secure embodiment than they now have as they rest only in the minds of living men? Look back, for a moment, over a century. The colonists were represented by such names as the Chouteaus, Gratiots, Soulards, Valles, Sarpy, Chenies; later, the Morrisons, who came from the French settlements; still later Irish enterprise was represented by the Mullanphys, Rankens, Dillon, the Campbells, the Walshes, Whittaker; Scotch thrift by McKenzie and Nicholson; German intelligence and mercantile sagacity by Palm, Kayser, Barth, Kim, Steitz, Angelrodt, Anheuser, Lemp; the Southern States by Benton, Gamble, Geyer, Polk, Charless, the Blows, Kennetts and Blairs, Harrison, Lucas, Beverly Allen, Hunt, McPherson, the Carrs, Von Phuls, Chambers, Paschal, Farrar; the Northern States by Bent, Easton, Carr Lane, Filley, Smith, Cavender, Rhodes, Blood, Field, Spaulding, Collier, Bridge, Dickson, Gale, Davis, the Lindells, Ames, Thomas Allen.

Other names will readily occur to you, and if it were proper to allude to living men, the list could be indefinitely extended. Some men count for nothing in human progress. Some men count for one, — some for ten, some for one hundred. There will be no dissent when I say that each of those I have

named, and many others that could be named, counted for more than one, in the forces which mark the progress and development of our commercial, industrial and intellectual interests. Is it to be said of us that we will allow the record made by these men to pass into oblivion as those who knew them pass away? An hundred men fill their places to-day, — themselves to pass, by the same neglect, into the same oblivion. Is it of no importance to us that some permanent record should be made of their place in our local history? It is no record of such men that they lived and died. Municipal history, or State history, or National history is in its last analysis but the record of the men who have conceived and executed projects that lift the city, or State, or nation, over the years and push it forward in the march of civilization.

It is a commendable feeling which prompts us to make record of such men as a part of our municipal history. It is not idle curiosity, or mere sentiment, but it is a feeling that in some way we are sharers in the work they did. In a deeper sense than we are wont to think, the work of these men is related to our work to-day. In a very real sense, all of us who regard St. Louis as our permanent home, are their descendants. I would have here something of that spirit, linking the present with the past, which Boston has so well expressed. The child, as he rolls his hoop along the street, is taught to look up to the bronze effigies of the men who have given her an honored name amongst the cities of the earth. No citizen is permitted to forget that Hancock and Warren, and Otis and Adams, and Webster, and Sumner, and

Mann and Revere, and Franklin were men of Boston.

The all absorbing and assimilating Anglo Saxon race coming into St. Louis with the arrogance of a conqueror, has left little trace of the old names and associations. The good father and governor of the infant colony, St. Ange de Bellerive, the friend of Montcalm, deserves a recognition from us as distinct as that which other cities have given to Winthrop or Stuyvesant or Penn. Why have we no square or prominent avenue to keep his memory green? Why have we left the honorable names of Piernas, of Cruzat, of Perez, of Trudeau and Delassus, the colonial governors, to pass absolutely out of our current thought? Who would recognize now, the name of good father Gibault, who first chanted the Te Deum at the forest altar and ministered to the spiritual needs of the first colonists as Brewster did to those of the Pilgrims, at Plymouth, a century and a half before?

The history of previous centuries has taken minor notice of those whose distinction was acquired outside of the great professions of statecraft and war. It converges around kings, consuls, and generals. Are we not entering upon a better era, when commerce, manufactures, and the arts of peace, are to lead, and our heroes are to be found amongst those who are of the people, and who minister in some way to human progress, rather than amongst those whose title to distinction lies in the path of destruction and suffering?

The tendencies of this age, and especially in this country, are towards a more uniform level of intelli-

gence than has ever prevailed in any country on the face of the earth, but it is a leveling up and not down. In a greater degree, therefore, should these interests of our local, as well as of our general history be fostered, —for they embrace the many and not the few. Of those whom I have had occasion to name, and I have named but a very few of those who have been prominent in our local history, there is scarcely one who is not represented to-day by descendants filling honorable places in our city; and the work of this Society appeals to them, not only as citizens, but with the added force of a strong natural and commendable impulse. They should be found amongst the very first in rescuing from what will soon become a certain and irreparable loss, those memorials of our local history which will not wait upon our improvidence or neglect.

All that I have said in principle applies with equal force to our State history. Its political and personal, its commercial and manufacturing and mining history, its social development, the history of its public works, its educational institutions and a score of kindred subjects, are all matters of profound interest, and their consideration ought to arouse a just and honorable State pride.

Is our archæological department any the less important? If we assume that the whole business of life is to accumulate money and enjoy material life, it is very difficult to say anything in favor of a public recognition of science, or learning, or art, or literature. It is only just in proportion as we recognize some debt to the past, some tie with the present, some obligation to the future, that we are open to

such appeals. Yet it would not be difficult to show that it is to science, art, and literature, that we owe the civilization that makes possible the accumulation of wealth, its security under the laws, and the possibilities of its rational and healthful enjoyment. The fundamental idea of our American civilization is the worth of the individual man. His place of influence and authority is the place he makes for himself. And the American, having been born to opportunities to which no people were born before, there is a debt to posterity to transmit them, broadened and widened in their scope. Upon no people does the obligation rest so heavily, to open every avenue for investigation and research, which gratifies the inquiring spirit or makes more clear the wonderful workings of that mysterious force which we call Nature, in human life or the material universe. In the older countries of Europe, the monarch was the patron of science and learning, and no disaffection or revolt ever sprung from such a patronage. If, in our wiser theories, we have transferred the honors of government from the monarch to the people, should not the people asume all its duties as well?

And has not this branch of scientific research a measurable value? Has it been nothing to the civilization of this age to be able to read and interpret the civilizations which clustered around the Indus, the Euphrates, the Nile, the Ægean, the Tiber, and the Thames, all of them stages in the development of our own? I know of nothing which can bring to our minds a richer consciousness of our favored place in human history, and enhance our reverence for the grand possibilities of human development, than the

study and contemplation, from our own high vantage ground, of the struggles of the human mind for light, through the creeping infancy of the race. And some of you, whom I have the pleasure of addressing, know how clearly man has borne witness of himself, and recorded his struggle for existence, for permanence, for mastery over nature in the valley of the Mississippi, long centuries before it was occupied by our own race.

With the single exception of parts of Mexico and Central America, there is no part of the American Continent so rich in these pre-historic records as the country embraced within a radius of less than two hundred and fifty miles around St. Louis; and the archæological museums of the East and of the old world, have gathered in this very district, some of their choicest specimens.

I know that many men cannot perceive the wonderful fascination of archæological research and study. I am sorry for those who do not. Other studies may be more useful in this practical world, but to my mind, none can surpass this one in comprehensive and absorbing interest. It has a fascination as harmless and more enticing than the wonderland of the fairies to the child. "Its ways are ways of pleasantness and all its paths are peace." I know that many persons may look upon what we regard as the choicest treasures of our archæological collection, and see only the crude vessel of clay, the mere piece of flint or stone. It is *curious*, that is all. But to the student every established archæological fact throws beams of light upon what whole epochs have witnessed, and buried races have accomplished. The outline is our common

humanity, the same in every age; but every implement of war or of the chase, every domestic utensil, every accessory of worship, every personal ornament, every architectural fragment or trace of pictorial art, however crude, which the researching fingers of the enthusiast rescues from the buried silence of cliff or cave or barrow or mound or tomb, helps to fill in the color of motive, purpose, religion, habit, ceremonial, or occupation, and a stage in the history of the race is pictured.

If we are to pause in our researches where written history begins, our knowledge of the race of man is brief, indeed.

"Man is explicable" says Emerson, "by nothing less than his whole history," and the inquiring spirit which weighs planets in its balances, and measures the distance of the farthest star, will not check its questionings when it is confronted by the mists of tradition and fable in which all written history begins. It contents itself with nothing less than man's whole history,—even pushing back into the glacial and drift deposits of the last geological era to find traces of his existence. Indeed, the field to be occupied by archæological science covers the entire span between the epochs, which are claimed by geology and those in which written history begins. It can never deal with history in its personal or political aspects, but in relation to man himself, in relation to the race, it brings all the methods of inductive science to secure positive and satisfying results.

Both of these departments of the work of our Society are entitled to a fair consideration from our people. It is within our power to establish a library

and a historical and archæological museum, which at the very outset would be highly creditable, and within less than ten years would be, in its especial department of American archæology, the best of its kind in the world. It would have strong claims upon the mere interest and curiosity of the stranger, and still stronger claims of historic association to the resident. All that is asked is the possession of a building, not extravagant or costly, but simply suitable and safe. The library and collections will take care of themselves and multiply with abundant rapidity. It ought not longer to be said, as it can now truly be said, that the history and archæology of the territory of which St. Louis is the centre, can be studied in England better than in St. Louis itself.

I want to record here a protest against that provincial spirit which we so often practically confess. We are too prone to think that because New York and London have their museums, we have no need for them here; because New York and Boston have their libraries, we have no need for them; because New Haven and Cambridge have their universities, we have no need for them here; because Cincinnati and New York and Boston have their art schools, we have no need of them here. Because these cities have these institutions, there is more abundant need for them at home. We do not fairly measure the money value of these institutions to a city, because they do not declare their dividends directly in money; but that man has sadly misread the history of the cities of the world, who has not found that in the long run, commercial prosperity cannot far outrun a fair consideration for the higher wants of man. In

purely commercial cities, even the desire for accumulation fails in the end to satisfy, and accumulated wealth takes wings to other cities for its enjoyment. Hence cities grow by attracting to themselves men seeking new fields for intellectual and social life which merely commercial cities fail to provide. Is not this the story of the wonderful growth of London and Berlin and Paris and New York? It is no new thing under the sun. It is a manifestation of the most natural human feeling. It will pay St. Louis to-day, just as surely in material returns, to sustain the growth of its intellectual life, and increase its intellectual attractions, as it paid Florence, when Cosmo di Medici established there the first museum of modern Europe and drew to his Court the leaders of the artistic and intellectual life of Italy.

I will not say that, in the aggregate, St. Louis is not doing more at the present time than ever before; but I do say, that if the records of the past are of any value, there was a more general interest in all such directions, and literary and scientific associations had more vitality and a more general patronage and support in the days of the St. Louis Lyceum and Franklin Literary Society fifty years ago, than similar associations have to-day.

I am not unmindful of the many claims that are made upon our people, and where so little has been done, how much falls upon our generation. Every movement outside of those whose support is assumed by the State, is constantly pressing its needs. Our asylums and hospitals, our libraries and universities, our schools of science and art, our churches and missions of charity, — all and many others, are legiti-

mate factors in our social work, and each and all address strong and unanswerable appeals for our personal consideration and help.

But I apprehend that the legitimate answer of a prosperous generation is not that the demand is too great, — and to do nothing, but an honest effort in some direction, and in as many directions as a conscientious sense of our duty to ourselves and our fellow men will permit. We shall not meet the expectations of the devoted enthusiast in any department of human effort, but with less than this we shall make no progress. A prosperous city owes something to itself, and that it is a debt of honor, makes the obligation not the less, but the more, sacred.

Am I wrong in saying that the encouragement and maintenance of associations of this general character (I do not refer to this one in particular), go far in a city like ours to supply that want of something to interest and occupy and refresh the mind, which is often the efficient cause leading to aimless and purposeless lives, perhaps worse. The mind will have occupation — excitement, in many cases, if you please. You cannot always direct it, or keep it solely in the channels of commercial life; you can not put about it a straight-jacket, and prescribe just how and where its activity shall have play. What we call polite society does not always afford that full scope which may sometimes reasonably be asked. The Club, even, fails to satisfy all our highest ideals. Individual tastes and tendencies will have their outlet, and just so far as we can tempt them into paths of science and healthful, recreative study, we are placing safeguards about them, which will be as an armor against

the grosser temptations which creep in upon unoccupied hours.

I am not referring in this, exclusively to what we call men of leisure. Mr. Gladstone — perhaps the busiest man in the world, finds time every day for literary and scientific recreation; and Sir John Lubbock — the leading archæologist, and, perhaps, one of the first scientists in the world, — is a banker, in active business. In this nineteenth century there is no necessary incongruity involved in the idea that the merchant and the scholar may be embodied in one person.

To place the matter upon no higher ground than that of affording in this city one more resource to those who choose to pursue it, for healthful, rational and harmless mental recreation in a common interest, there ought to be ten, or twenty, or fifty men, who will place this Society in a position to fulfil its work, by giving it a building suitable for its absolutely necessary uses, if not one creditable and worthy the city. Can we reasonably hope for such a result? Yes, I hold to-day the pledge for one-tenth of any amount we can secure, however large it may be, and I am quite sure that this movement, once fairly understood, will not be permitted to fail. The burthen is not great. A strong, earnest effort must succeed, for it addresses itself to every race, party, class, creed, or nationality, — to every individual who calls St. Louis "home."

There is a kind of civic pride, that is very closely akin to patriotism, of which we, in St. Louis, have none too much. Shall we expect others to think well of a city of which we do not think well our-

selves, whose history we are willing to allow to drop from themes of human interest, whose institutions for cultivation and improvement we are unwilling to sustain? A living interest and belief in the real greatness of a city will alone make it great. Such a feeling is contagious, and if we but do our part, we can impress ourselves and others with the belief that we have, in St. Louis, a city worthy of our interest, and of our labors to make it attractive in all those directions which ennoble, dignify and refine our lives as well as in those which minister to its material progress.

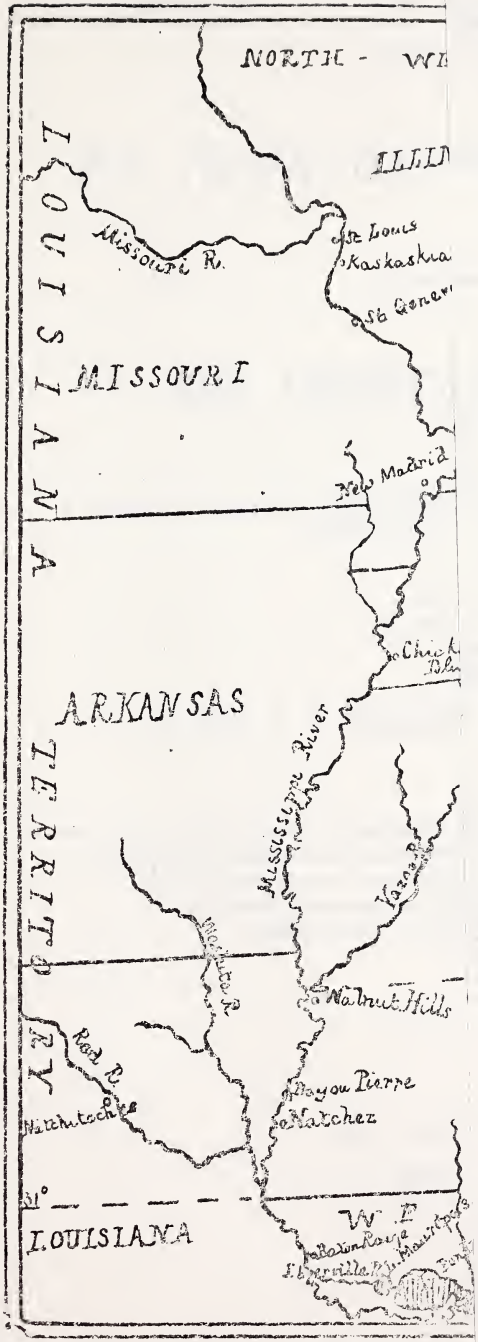
THE ATTEMPTS

To Separate the West

FROM THE AMERICAN UNION

BY REV. E. E. HALE, D.D., LL.D.

ST. LOUIS
1863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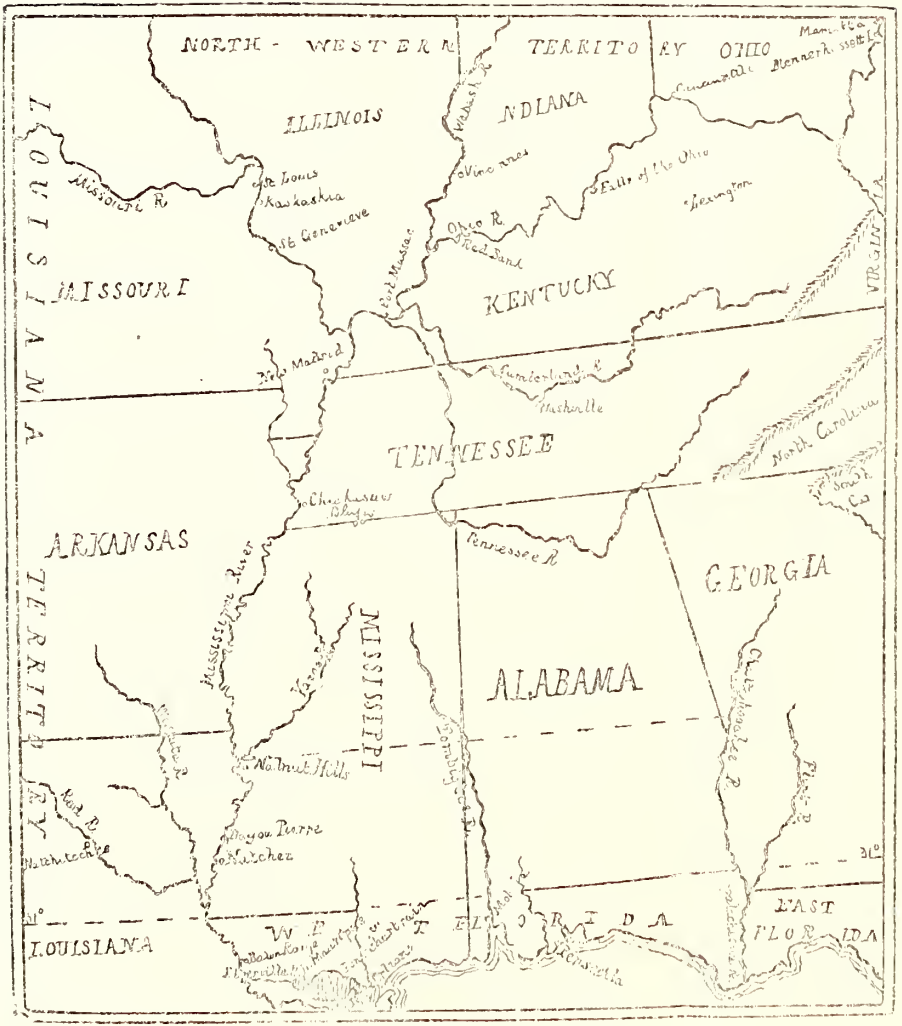

MAP OF THE SOUTHWESTERN COUNTRY.

THE ATTEMPTS

—MADE—

To Separate the West

—FROM—

THE AMERICAN UNION

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FEBRUARY 4, 1885

—BY THE—

RT. REV. C. F. ROBERTSON, D. D., LL. D.

Member of the American Historical Association, of the Historical Societies of Missouri and Virginia, the Huguenot Society of America and the Southern Historical Society; Corresponding Member of the Historical Societies of Maryland, Wisconsin, New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Kansas, Georgia, etc.

ST. LOUIS

1885

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PUBLICATION NO. 8:

PRESS OF W. W. WILLIAMS, CLEVELAND, O.

NOTE.

Below are given the editions of the works referred to in the following paper:

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It may be noted that Nogales, Walnut Hills, Fort Adams and Vicksburg are the successive names of the same place. In the same way Chickasaw Bluffs and Memphis indicate the same place. The same is true of the Falls of the Ohio and Louisville.

THE ATTEMPTS MADE TO SEPARATE THE WEST FROM THE AMERICAN UNION.

The war of the Revolution was scarcely over and peace declared before there began an effort which, in various forms, was carried on for twenty years, to separate the western portion of the Union from the states on the Atlantic seaboard. The first attempt to divide the Union was by a line running nearly north and south, and along the Alleghany mountains. The cause which gave life to the movement was the vast extent of the territory of the states, the little knowledge of and communication at that time had between the distant parts, and the adverse interests which were created by the difference of climate, and antecedents, and previous nationality, of those now bound together in the American Union.

There is considerable ignorance now, even on the part of well informed persons, as to the condition of the several parts of the country, with all our facilities of travel and communication. It is not strange that this should be much greater when few could ever go far from their own firesides, when newspapers were rare, and high rates of postage made frequent communication impossible. As resulting from this, the provincial stamp set upon the several sections, by reason of climate, and soil, and occupation, would be more fixed, and antagonisms more emphatic than now, when all judgments and tastes are modified by a ready and constant attrition of the most distant parts upon each other.

It could not well be otherwise than that regions so distant and dissimilar, and in so many matters opposed in interest, should find it difficult to pass from the condition of separate and independent provinces to that of a federal union without many

jarrings of discord. This would be especially likely in the earlier days of the government, before the relative rights and duties of the central and state administrations had been adjusted, and when the burdens of debt incurred by a long war had to be borne, and distributed, and paid. In no part of the country was this strain greater than in the recently and sparsely settled regions west of the Alleghanies, where, along with a self-assertion and indisposition to submit easily to control, always characteristic of a frontier life, there was but little ability as yet to bear heavy exactions of impost and taxation, and perhaps no very great sense of the degree of previous protection extended by the central government, as calling from them justly for any large self-sacrifices now. They were poor, and had with great hardships made homes and settlements. The Atlantic states were wealthier, and had done little for them. They were not patient under any heavy burdens to be put on them now.

In order to come fairly to a consideration of these early chafings against the new and strange bonds of union, it will be necessary to remind ourselves of the political situation of the Mississippi valley at that time.

On the third of November, 1762, the French king ceded to Spain all the country known under the name of Louisiana,* which itself, in 1712, Louis XIV had defined in his letters patent to Crozat to be all the country between Mexico and Carolina, the river Mississippi† from the sea to the Illinois, the Missouri river, the Wabash, and all the land, lakes and rivers flowing into any part of the river Mississippi.

This donation was accepted, but the transaction was kept secret, and the king of France continued to act as sovereign. In the treaty of Paris, in 1763, between Spain and France on the one side and Great Britain on the other, it was agreed that the limits of the French and British possessions should be a line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi river from its source to the river Iberville; along the middle of that stream,

*Vergennes, Mem. Sur la Louis., pp. 32-3.

†Martin Louisiana, p. 114.

and of the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain* to the sea; and that all on the left side of the Mississippi river, except the town and island of New Orleans, should belong to the king of England. New Orleans and the country to the west were to belong to the king of Spain.

In the same year Great Britain divided Florida into two provinces. West Florida was bounded by the Appalachicola river on the east, and by the thirty-first degree of latitude on the north. In March, 1764, on the representation that important settlements to the north had been left out, the northern boundary was made along a line due east from the mouth of the Yazoo river to the Appalachicola. In 1777, Great Britain purchased of the Choctaws the Natchez district, extending along the Mississippi river from latitude thirty-one, one hundred and ten miles northward to the mouth of the Yazoo.†

In November, 1782, in the preliminary articles, and on the third of September, 1783, in the definitive treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, the southern boundary of the United States was determined to be a line drawn from the Mississippi river due east in the northernmost‡ part of the thirty-first degree of latitude to the Chattahoochie river, thence to its junction with the Flint river; thence to the head of the St. Mary's river; thence to the ocean; in all this coinciding with the boundary of east and west Florida, as established in 1763 by Great Britain.

On the same day the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain declared an entire cession in full right of east and west Florida to Great Britain to Spain without defining the northern boundary.

From this, as was natural, and, as Pontalba asserts, as England intended, arose a dispute between the United States and Spain. The United States claimed, under its treaty with Great Britain, that its southern boundary line was the thirty-first degree. Spain, on the other hand, claimed, as part of west Florida, all

*Gayarrè, third ser., p. 93
†Claiborne, Miss., p. 98
‡Treaties U. S. p. 316.

of the territory south of the line running east from the mouth of the Yazoo river, which was one hundred and ten miles further north. To strengthen her title, in June, 1784, Spain made a treaty at Pensacola with the Creeks, Choctaws and Chickasaws inhabiting this district, by which they conceded the Spanish title, and engaged to support it. Subsequently, also, Alexander McGillivray, head chief of the Creeks, and agent of the other tribes of the Muscogee confederacy, acknowledged himself subject to Spain.

Spain had possession of the disputed territory, under the conquest of Galvez, and refused to surrender it to the United States. She erected forts at Nogales, now Vicksburg, and subsequently at New Madrid, and she strengthened her garrisons at Manchac, Baton Rouge and Natchez. Both powers had equitable titles, the dispute arising from the discrepancy in the terms of the treaty made by Great Britain with the two nations. Of course, all this occasioned great bitterness between the powers, and also individuals of each nation.

The district west of the Alleghanies, now comprising the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, was rapidly filling with adventurous persons, many of whom had been in the Revolutionary armies. The severity of Indian depredations was no longer so severely felt, and towns were springing up. The richness of the soil was bringing forth abundant harvests of wheat, and corn, and tobacco, which could only with difficulty seek a market east of the mountains, and must consume themselves in the cost of transit. The natural channel of trade was down the Ohio, Cumberland and Mississippi rivers, and the most advantageous market would be New Orleans. On account of the bitterness, however, between the nations, previous to 1787 all those who ventured on the Mississippi river had their property seized by the first Spanish vessel that was met; and little or no communication was kept up between the respective countries.

The free navigation of the Mississippi river, south of the thirty-first degree, had been reluctantly yielded to Spain.* In

* Writings of Madison, IV., p. 558.

1780–81, when the preliminaries of peace were being discussed in Paris and Madrid, the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line was causing anxiety, and the British forces under Cornwallis and Tarleton were overrunning the South.* There was consequently a fear on the part of the delegates in Congress from South Carolina and Georgia that, if a peace was then forced by the European powers, the principle of *uti possidetis* would cause those states to fall into the hands of Great Britain, which occupied them then. To prevent this, and secure the important adhesion of Spain, the American ministers were instructed that, if Spain inflexibly demanded it as a condition of alliance, the concession of our claim to the free navigation of the Mississippi river, south of the thirty-first degree, should be allowed.

Years had passed and peace was declared, but the United States were still under the confederacy, and suffering from all the weakness which came from that temporary arrangement. Its seat was in New York, at a great distance from the Mississippi valley: and it was but slightly aware of, or concerned about, the consequence of that remote region. In 1785 Mr. Jay, who was conducting a negotiation with Gardoqui, the Spanish representative on this subject, having been called upon by Congress to give his views on the matter, recommended that it would be expedient to conclude a treaty with Spain, limited to twenty or thirty years, and for the United States to stipulate that during the term of the treaty they would forbear to navigate the Mississippi below their southern boundary.† This view was sanctioned by the seven more northern, and opposed by the five more southern states.‡ Seven states in Congress authorized Jay to conclude a treaty with Gardoqui, and restrict the right of the United States to the Mississippi river, while the article of the confederation expressly declared that the United States should enter into no treaty unless nine states in Congress assented to it. But Spain would not even agree to

* White, Georgia, p. 206.

† Butler, History Kentucky, p. 156.

‡ Lives Chief Justices, I, 364.

this stipulation, because it implied an ultimate right in the United States to navigate the river.*

Naturally this apparent indifference or hostility on the part of Congress to what was of vital importance to the western country, the free navigation of the Mississippi river, and the possibility thus of getting a market for their produce, had an irritating effect upon the excitable population of the section. This cause of anger was intensified by the delay of Congress in complying with the request of Kentucky to be received as a state in the Union. The cause of this delay, and afterwards the rejection of the overture, was the fear of disturbing the sectional balance. The eastern states, by a majority of seven to six, were not willing to give their assent to the admission of the district of Kentucky into the Union, as an independent state, unless Vermont,† or the district of Maine, was brought forward at the same time. Back of this disinclination was a further cause. In the settlement of the terms of peace with Great Britain, Congress had abandoned the check of a two-thirds vote on commercial questions, and substituted that of a majority. In the haste to relieve the embarrassments of trade, and restore prosperous business relations, the more commercial states of the north, not waiting for Great Britain to comply with the conditions set for it, such as the surrender of slaves, and the giving up of the posts on the northwestern frontier, immediately removed all restrictions from trade, and left Great Britain, with her large capital free, to compete for the business of the states. This operated to the disadvantage of Virginia and the other southern states,‡ in handing over their tobacco to the monopoly of England. This cause would also act as a bar on the admission of any new southern state that would be likely to change the majority and disturb the existing commercial arrangements.

Spain, however, was on the alert to use for her advantage the anger of the people of Kentucky, aroused by the seeming hos-

* Secret Jour. Cong., IV, p. 296.

† Bancroft, History Constitution, I, 373.

‡ Bland Papers, II, 83. Tyler Letters, I, 102.

tility of the Government of the United States to the dearest interests of the West.

Among those who had come to Lexington, Kentucky, in 1784, to settle was General James Wilkinson. He was born in Maryland, marched with Arnold in 1775 through Maine to Quebec, was at the surrender of Saratoga, and had fallen into disrepute with Washington, and resigned in 1778, because he had told to Lord Stirling, while under the influence of wine, the expressions used by Conway to Gates to the disparagement of the generalship of Washington. He was a wordy, officious, consequential person, who liked to make a profit, and he became engaged in the dry goods trade. In June, 1787, he descended the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans, with a cargo of tobacco and flour, determined to try his enterprise and address at the seats of the Spanish government in Louisiana. He was successful, and Governor Miro granted General Wilkinson permission to bring tobacco to New Orleans on favorable terms. Wilkinson also impressed the importance of his influence to such an extent upon the Spanish authorities that a monopoly and special remissions of duty were made to him, so that for some time all the trade from the Ohio was carried on in his name, and a line from him sufficed to ensure to the owner of a boat every privilege and protection that he could desire.

The Spanish government at this time, 1786–87, had projected a plan for colonizing Louisiana from the United States; and Gardoqui, the Spanish minister in New York, had sent several vessels to the Mississippi with colonists. In the depression that existed during the latter years of the confederacy, when the United States had not the ability to pay its old officers and soldiers,* General Steuben, Colonel George Morgan and other Revolutionary officers of rank opened a treaty with Gardoqui for the grant of an extensive district of country west of the Mississippi, upon the plan of establishing a military colony under particular privileges and exemptions. In pursuance of

* Wilkinson, Mem. II, 3.

this, in the winter of 1788–89, Colonel Morgan, of New Jersey, under the sanction of Gardoqui, came down the Ohio with a considerable body of colonists. Gardoqui had made to him a concession of from twelve to fifteen millions of acres on the west side of the Mississippi river, from the mouth of the St. Francis river to Point Cinq Hommes. He proposed to establish a city which in ten years would reach a hundred thousand inhabitants, as near the mouth of the Ohio as the nature of the land would permit, and he called the place New Madrid, in compliment to the Spaniards. To Morgan Gardoqui gave the concession of a free post. Thus privileged and happily situated, commanding the trade of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, the place would intercept all the products of the country going south.

Such a plan, however, did not suit the purposes of Wilkinson. He had his own scheme of colonization, which he broached to Governor Miro, by which he proposed the settlement of several thousand families in west Florida, or on the Arkansas and White rivers, to whom lands were to be granted in proportion to their numbers and condition, and for whom Wilkinson was to be allowed from one to three hundred dollars a family. For this purpose he presented a list of names of persons in Kentucky as emigrants, in order to give consistency to his proposition. Having this scheme view, although it was never realized, Wilkinson discouraged the plans of other colonists on the plea that trade would be diverted from New Orleans. The New Madrid concession was therefore withdrawn; the colonists scattered, and a fort was erected there.

Wilkinson, on his visit to New Orleans, determined also to demand for his services, for promoting the schemes of colonization into Spanish territory, the privilege of furnishing a considerable annual supply of tobacco to the Mexican market, which he thought would secure immense fortunes to himself and his friends.*

As might be presumed, Wilkinson did not receive these fa-

* Clark, Proofs against Wilkinson, p. 13.

vors from the Spanish governor without making pledges in return. He declared that there was a general abhorrence throughout the western parts against Congress, because of its indifference to their interests in the matter of the navigation of the Mississippi river, and that on this account they were on the point of separating from the Union. He appealed to Spanish fears* on the idea that the British, who still held the northwestern forts, could easily unite with the increasing strength of the western settlements, and invade and take possession of Lousiana, and even of Mexico. Nor did Wilkinson leave New Orleans without a pledge to devote himself to the task of delivering up Kentucky into the hands of the Spanish king.

Wilkinson did not make this declaration without knowing of the intense discontent which existed in that district. The growing population were deeply excited because they had in vain petitioned Congress to secure for them the free use of the Mississippi river, without which it was useless for them to till the ground, since they had no market for their produce; and they were determined to take the matter into their own hands. They were divided up into different parties.† One was for declaring themselves independent of the United States, and forming a new republic, in close alliance with Spain. Another was in favor of becoming a part of Louisiana, and submitting to the laws of Spain. Another party desired to declare war with Spain, and seize New Orleans. Another wanted to prevail on Congress to extort from Spain the free navigation of the river; and still another party wished to have France recover Louisiana and extend her protection to Kentucky.

As Congress, on the third of July, 1788, finally decided to postpone the application of Kentucky to be received into the Union, in one week from that day Mr. John Brown, who represented Kentucky before Congress, wrote a letter to the President of the Kentucky convention that Mr. Gardoqui, the Spanish minister, in a conversation, had stated that‡ "if the peo-

* Gayarrè, Spanish Domination, p. 182.
†Gayarrè, Spanish Domin. p. 252.
‡ Butler, p. 171.

ple of Kentucky would erect themselves into an independent state, and appoint a proper person to negotiate with him, he would enter into an arrangement with them for the exportation of their produce to New Orleans, on terms of mutual advantage."

About this time, May 15, 1788, Wilkinson wrote to Miro that Congress,* because of the present federal compact, can neither dispose of men or money. The new government, should it establish itself, will have to encounter difficulties, which will keep it weak for three or four years, before the expiration of which, "I have good grounds," he said, "to hope that we shall have completed our negotiations, and shall have become too strong to be subjected by any force which may be sent against us." And, also, "When this people shall find out that they can procure articles not manufactured among us more conveniently through this river, the dependent state in which we are will cease, and with it all motives for connection with the other side of the Appalachian Mountains."

Wilkinson was, in the meantime, shipping his cargoes to New Orleans, and prosecuting his profitable business ventures.† His agent, Major Dunn, gave it out as certain that the next year Kentucky would act as an independent state, and Miro writes to the home government, as from Wilkinson, that "the direction of the current of the rivers, which run in front of their dwellings, points clearly to the power to which they ought to ally themselves."‡

In the Kentucky convention of November, 1788, the urgency of Wilkinson bore on the two points: ‖ First, the importance of independence, and of the formation of a state constitution, without waiting for the previous consent of the parent state of Virginia; and second, the securing of the free navigation of the Mississippi, even though this could only be secured by a Spanish connection. In reciting the results of that convention to Miro, Wilkinson writes: "To consolidate the interests § and

* Gayarrè S. D., p. 210.
† Bancroft, Consti., i, p. 398.
‡ Gayarrè S. D. p. 212.
‖ Butler, Ken., p. 172
§ Gayarrè S. D., p. 227.

confirm the confidence of our friends, to try our strength, to provoke the resentment of Congress with a view to stimulate that body into some invidious act which might excite the passions of the people—these are the motives which influenced me . . . In order to prevent the suspicions and feelings of distrust already existing here, and inflame the animosity between the eastern and western states, Spain must resort to every artifice in her power. . . . Every manifestation of the power of Spain, and of the debility of the United States, every evidence of the resolution of the former to retain exclusively to herself the right of navigation on the Mississippi, will facilitate our views. Every circumstance, also, that will tend to impede our admission as an independent state, will increase the discontent of the people and favor the execution of our plan."

Wilkinson also sought to increase in the Spanish governor the sense of obligation for his services by dilating on the address* with which he had caused the British Doctor Connally, an emissary from Lord Dorchester, the governor of Canada, who had come to offer English assistance in any expedition in the west to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi, to return affrighted to his own country after having accomplished nothing.

The result of it all was that the Spanish governor, who was not without his doubts all along that Wilkinson had motives of his own, commercial or otherwise, in his pro-Spanish declarations, sent him five thousand dollars for the outlay that Wilkinson declared that he had been at, and half as much more with which to corrupt Marshall and Muter, who were opposed to the Spanish connection.†

The causes operating in Kentucky in favor of Spain also manifested themselves in the western settlements of North Carolina. In order to make a fund for the payment of her debts, Congress had asked the states to cede to her all their vacant lands to the west, that they might be sold to pay Rev-

*Blennerhassett Papers, p. 87. Gayarrè, S. D., p. 235.

†Gayarré, S. D., p. 256.

olutionary claims.* North Carolina did this, and ceded the two counties of Cumberland and Washington, which constitute the present state of Tennessee. In compliance with this act the people assembled, under the leadership of General Sevier, the hero of the battle of King's Mountain, and proceeded to organize the state of Frankland. In a few months after North Carolina rescinded its previous action and recalled its cession of land.† This enraged the people west of the mountains, who were poor, and had borne privations, and were harassed by taxes, and the great distance of the courts in which they might seek redress. There ensued, therefore, some acts of violence in the contention between the two jurisdictions. The settlers on the Cumberland river, which ran through the district and sought the gulf, were deeply interested in the navigation of the Mississippi, and, therefore, were operated on by the same motives as those which were stirring up Kentucky.‡

On the twelfth of September, 1788, in his resentment, General Sevier wrote to Gardoqui to inform him that the inhabitants of Frankland were unanimous in their vehement desire to form an alliance and treaty of commerce with Spain, and put themselves under her protection. They named the county of Cumberland, in West Tennessee, Miro, in compliment of the Spanish governor. These overtures were flattering to Spanish pride, but had to be received with caution, because Spain was at peace with the United States. A concession was, however, made, that the people of the Washington and Miro districts should have the privilege of carrying their produce down the Mississippi to the market of New Orleans on a duty of fifteen per cent., which Miro reserved the right of reducing according to his pleasure in behalf of any men of influence who might be named by the Spanish agent. Miro communicated with Wilkinson with regard to these negotiations, and a system of

*While these lands were a cause of contention, they furnished also a common interest which kept the country together. Johns Hopkins' Historical Studies, third ser., I., Introduction.

† Spark's Franklin, X, p. 290.

‡ Ramsey, Tennessee, p. 298; Gayarrê, S. D. p. 257.

cypher messages between them was devised to ensure secrecy.

In the year 1789, a powerful company was formed in South Carolina, and purchased from the state of Georgia an immense tract of land, including fifty-two thousand square miles, and extending on the Mississippi river from the Yazoo to the neighborhood of Natchez. As this was in the debatable ground between the United States and Spain, no time was lost by the company in endeavoring to come to a good understanding with the Spanish authorities in New Orleans. Their alliance was sought, and the company declared its desire to form itself into an advantageous rampart for Spain. Miro communicated the business to Wilkinson, who immediately addressed himself to the South Carolina gentlemen, protesting his own disinterestedness, and influence with the Spanish governor, and their need to have the services in New Orleans for the negotiations of a gentleman of distinction, with full powers, and offering himself for the position. He loaned to Captain Cape, the agent of the South Carolina company, according to his statement to the Spanish governor, three thousand dollars, to secure his influence. His efforts, for a time, did not seem to be without result. Miro praised Wilkinson for the part that he had acted toward the company. On the twenty-fourth of May, James O'Fallon, the general agent for the South Carolina company, wrote to Miro, from Lexington, Kentucky, the residence of Wilkinson, that he had "prevailed upon the company to consent to be the slaves of Spain, that they had formed the resolution of separating themselves from the Union, and that all that they desired from the Spanish Crown was a secret coöperation, which would soon ripen into a sincere friendship."*

Thus, throughout the whole west, the restlessness of the frontier settlers, along with the feebleness of the confederacy, worked, with the machinations of Spain, to bring about a disposition for the severance of the western country from the United States, with the hope of placing it under the protection of that power which held the key of the situation, in the posses-

*Gayarrè, S. D. p. 289.

sion of the mouth of the Mississippi river. And in this business General Wilkinson was the principal agent of the Spanish governor, and a stipendiary upon the Spanish treasury. Thus, later, when his offices seemed to bear less results, the governor writes to the home secretary that in his opinion the general should be retained in the service with an annual pension of two thousand dollars; and he also recommends that a pension be granted to Colonel Sebastian, of Kentucky, because "he will be able to enlighten me on the conduct of Wilkinson, and on what we have to expect from the plans of the said brigadier-general."* One spy was hired to watch the other spy.

But such a plan of securing Spanish dominancy in the west could not permanently be successful. In the first place it was founded upon deceit and stealth. Then the texture of character of the hardy American would inevitably in the end prevail as a ruling interest and controlling power as against the weaker and subtler nature of the Spaniard. Furthermore, the scheming had profited by the weakness of the confederacy. This, however, in 1789, gave place to the greater efficiency of the Union under the present constitution; and the firm and wise administration of Washington soon began to tell in the respect for authority, and the greater cohesion of the parts. Besides this, the reduction of the tariff on the part of Spain on shipments down the Mississippi, diminished the inducements for separation, and the greater numbers and boldness of the western settlements made it clear to the Spanish authorities that they must change their tone of menace.

In the year 1791, the Spanish intrigues in the west and south began to slacken from want of success, and the United States set on foot persuasives, through its minister in Madrid, to have Spain give up New Orleans, and confine itself to the western bank of the Mississippi river.

While these efforts were making, the west came to feel some of the effects of an agitation which was dividing political parties in the east, and had its origin on the continent of Europe. A

*Gayarrè, S. D., p. 286.

supposed inclination* towards Great Britain, our old antagonist, was a mark of the Federal party, which dominated in the administration of President Washington. A sympathy with France, our former ally, was the characteristic of the Republican party, which was in opposition, and whose leader a little later was Jefferson. The one side emphasized the necessity of strengthening the Federal Union; the other party asserted the original rights of the states, and enlarged upon the dangers of centralization. The bitterness between the parties was for many years most violent.

In 1793, the sympathy in this country with France, which was in the throes of revolution, took the form of the organization of democratic societies, at first in Philadelphia, which violently proclaimed the most extreme anarchical notions of universal rights, such as had broken to pieces the social order in France. There would, therefore, be little wonder that in Kentucky, where Great Britain was charged with being the instigator of the barbarous Indian depredations, and where many of the old soldiers lived who had fought along side of the French during the Revolutionary struggle, similar societies should be organized.† Genet, the French minister in this country, appealed to the alliance of 1778 as the ground on which we should side with his country in its differences with England, made a triumphal progress through the states, dealt out commissions to privateers, enlisted officers and men,‡ organized Jacobin clubs, and sent out four § agents to Kentucky, who set on foot societies in Georgetown, Lexington and Paris. They issued addresses, in which they traded on the grievances of the western people, enlarged on the advantages which would flow from their separating themselves from the rest of the United States, and the glorious results which would accrue from going down and freeing Louisiana from the thraldom of Spain and

*Barbé Marbois, His. Louisiane, p. 241.

† Blennerhasset Pap. p. 101.

‡ Lives Chief Justices, I, p. 390.

§ American State Pap., I., 453.

setting up a republic there. They called upon the French in Louisiana to rise against their present rulers.

A force of two thousand men was enlisted for this expedition, at the head of which George Rogers Clark* accepted the office of "Major General of the Army of France, and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Legions of the Mississippi river."

The firmness of Washington compelled the recall of Genet, the French minister, and this caused the collapse of the intended movement against the Spanish posts.†

At this time there were symptoms of a war between Great Britain and Spain. The former power had not yet given up possession of the forts on our northwestern frontiers. It held them with the hope that they might be of advantage in strengthening its hold on the western parts of America. There is good reason for believing that its purpose was, if war had been declared with Spain, to march its troops through the western territories and seize upon Louisiana. The Spanish minister alleged this to our government, and induced it to strengthen its frontier posts and issue strict orders against the passage of any British troops through our territory. Our government was the more induced to do this as it was endeavoring to persuade the Spanish ministry to consent to a cession of the district east of the Mississippi.

So soon, however, as the danger of invasion was past, the Spanish governor at New Orleans, Carondolet, again imposed restrictions upon the commerce on the Mississippi, endeavoring thus to show to the western people that their only hope lay in a separation from the United States. Along with this, renewed efforts were made to subsidize leading citizens of the west in favor of the Spanish interests. The United States were being pressed from without by troubles with Great Britain. France and Spain. The whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania was putting‡ to a strain the relations of federal and state au-

* Butler, p. 224.

† Barbè Marbois, p. 167.

‡ Monette, History, Valley Miss. II, p. 202.

thority, and requiring the militia of several states to quell it. Hamilton's financial plans had not yet begun to ease the public credit. All the northwestern tribes of Indians were harassing the Ohio and Kentucky settlements. England on the northwest, and Spain on the southwest, were pressing on both flanks of the western territories, to cause them to break loose from the Union into permanent separation.

While the United States were pushing Spain for a settlement of the boundary line, and for amicable commercial arrangements by diplomacy, Spain was endeavoring to break the force of the pressure by securing the influence of the leading men of Kentucky on its side by bribery. In the summer of 1795,* Carondolet sent Gayoso up the Mississippi river, with a force, under the pretense that it was to be used for the building of a fort at the Chickasaw bluffs; but Gayoso went on to New Madrid, and informed Don Thomas Portell that he had important dispatches which must go forward immediately to Kentucky. Portell gave them to Thomas Power, who had been charged with a similar secret embassy before. Power made his way to Kentucky and delivered Carondolet's letter to Wilkinson, who had two years before reëntered the military service of the United States. Wilkinson and Power had nocturnal meetings in Cincinnati, and Wilkinson gave him letters to Carondolet, in which he recommended the following points to the Spanish governor:† *First*, that cargoes should be sent up from New Orleans to the Ohio river, by which the confidence of the people should be gained, and the channel pointed out and made familiar through which they could best receive foreign commodities. *Second*, the mouth of the Ohio should be strongly fortified, and works erected of such strength as to arrest for one campaign the progress of any army that should come down from the north. *Third*, a bank, with a million of dollars of capital should be established in Kentucky, and the leading characters in the country be made directors. *Fourth*, General

* Clark, p. 221.

† Gayarré, S. D., p. 360. Clark, Notes, p. 34.

George Rogers Clark, and his adherents, who had been in the pay of the French Republic* recently, should be brought into the service of Spain, which should increase its agents in Kentucky, and establish a magazine at New Madrid.

Under Wilkinson's direction, Power was joined at Redbanks by Colonel Sebastian, and it was intended that they should be joined by Messrs. Innes, Murray and Nicholas. These last did not come, and Power and Sebastian went to New Madrid, and thence proceeded to New Orleans to meet the governor. The next year Power again communicated dispatches from Carondolet to Wilkinson, and carried him nine thousand dollars concealed in barrels of sugar.†

In the meantime the negotiations between the United States and Spain reached the point that, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1795, a treaty was signed in Madrid,‡ which stipulated that the southern boundary of the United States should be the thirty-first degree, and that within six months after the ratification of the treaty the troops of each power should retire to its own side of the boundary; that, within that time, also, commissions on each side should be appointed to run and mark the line; that the middle of the Mississippi river should be the western boundary of the United States to the thirty-first parallel; that the whole width of the river from its source to the sea should be free to the people of the United States, and that the people of the United States should, for a period of three years, be permitted to use the port of New Orleans as a place of deposit and export, with only local charges, and that after this the time, by further negotiation, might be extended, or some other point on the island of New Orleans designated for the purpose.

Although this treaty was thus concluded, it was very evident that there was very little idea that the measure was anything more than a temporary piece of diplomatic finesse, which

* Blenn., Papers, p. 101.

† Clark, Notes, p. 37.

‡ Gayarré, S. D., p. 356. Treaties U. S., p. 776.

would not be carried into effect, and would soon be abrogated. Spain was on the point of declaring war against Great Britain, and desired to secure the United States as a neutral power, between Canada and Louisiana, to prevent invasion on the part of Great Britain. Not for one moment did the efforts in the direction of subsidizing individuals cease.

In June, 1796, Governor Gayoso* wrote that the treaty of the year before never would be carried into effect. Great Britain had, in 1794, made a treaty with the United States, the object of which was to attach them to her interests, and to counterbalance this Spain had made her treaty of limits. As Great Britain had totally failed in her object,† the governor thought that Spain should not regard her stipulations. Besides, it was expected that several states would separate from the Union, and this would absolve Spain from its engagements. He concluded, therefore, that nothing but the free navigation of the Mississippi would be the result of the treaty.

On the death of General Wayne, in December, 1796, Wilkinson succeeded to the command of the American army. He had intimated to Baron de Carondolet that he was getting ready a force to accompany the commissioner, Mr. Andrew Ellicott, to take possession of the forts of Natchez and Walnut Hills, and to run the territorial line between the possessions of the two powers under the treaty. The baron was determined not to surrender the territory. He, therefore, secretly commissioned Mr. Power, in May, 1797, to go to General Wilkinson, in order to state to him that, on account of the doubts as to the manner of delivering the posts, and the apprehension that a British force was marching from Canada to attack upper Louisiana, he was resolved to retain the forts until he could receive the decision of the Spanish minister. He, therefore, requested that the march of the American troops be suspended until such decision could be reached.

The Spaniards had some grounds for the fear which they ex-

* Martin, Louis, p. 269.

† Stoddard's Sketches, p. 99.

pressed. The Spanish governor still retained possession of the post at Natchez. So long as this was done, it kept open all the irritating questions as to boundaries between the Americans in the districts of Tennessee and Mississipp, and the Indian tribes in that section. The Americans complained because their government seemed so slow in asserting its rights against Spain and protecting them from the Indians. At this juncture, in April, 1797, Mr. Blount, the United States Senator from Tennessee, who had a wide influence in his state, entered into a secret correspondence* with the English envoy in this country, Mr. Liston, the object of which was to induce England to send forces from Canada by Lake Michigan, down the Mississippi river, where boats and abundance of provisions would be sent to them from Kentucky and Tennessee; and they would rapidly descend the river, overcome the feeble Spanish garrison at New Orleans, and occupy the whole of Louisiana and Florida. This correspondence, however, in transmission to England, fell into the hands of a person who thought it his duty to send it to the President. In consequence of this, the plan fell through, and Mr. Blount was expelled from the Senate. The scheme, however, affrighted the Spaniards when they heard of it.

Baron Carondelet, when he therefore sought to delay the giving up of the posts on the Mississippi river, and sent Mr. Powers on his mission, gave him instructions so confidential that he was only to retain them in his memory.† He directed him, while traveling through the western country, to sound the disposition of the people as he went. He gave him also a system of signs in writing his dispatches, which would indicate whether he found a hostile condition, and as to the number of pieces of artillery and any other warlike preparations which he might find. He was also to persuade the people, as he was able, that the delivery of the posts to the United States was opposed to the interests of the western people, who, as they would have one day to separate from the Atlantic states, would

*Barbè Marboi's, p. 176. American State Papers II, p. 76. Ellicott's Journal, p. 64.
† Gayarrè, S. D., p. 360. Wilkinson, Mem., II, note 46.

find themselves without communication with lower Louisiana, from whence they might expect powerful help in artillery, arms, ammunition and money as soon as ever the western states should determine on a separation; and that for this reason the west, in allowing Congress to take these posts from Spain, was forging fetters for itself.

The baron then stated to Power some propositions which he desired him to place before Messrs. Sebastian, Innes, Murray and Nicholas, and any other persons pointed out by them.

First. They were to exert all their influence in impressing on the minds of the inhabitants of the western country a conviction of the necessity of their withdrawing and separating themselves from the federal Union, and forming an independent government wholly unconnected with that of the Atlantic states. To prepare for this, the most eloquent and popular writers should, in well-timed publications, expose, in the most striking point of view, the inconveniences and disadvantages that a longer connection with and dependence on the Atlantic states must draw upon them; and the benefits they will certainly reap from a secession ought to be forcibly pointed out. The baron pledged himself to appropriate one hundred thousand dollars for the use of those who should engage in this work, and to indemnify those who should lose any positions thereby.*

Second---Immediately after the declaration of independence, Fort Massac, on the Ohio, near the mouth of the Cumberland, was to be taken possession of by the new government, which would be furnished arms by the king of Spain, who would further engage to supply one hundred thousand dollars for raising and maintaining such troops.

Third---He was to endeavor to discover General Wilkinson's disposition, and he thought it scarcely possible that he would prefer to command the army of the Atlantic states to that of being the Washington of the western states, that at the slightest movement he will be named as the general of the new re-

*Clark, Notes, p. 82.

public, that the army is weak, and devoted to Wilkinson, and nothing is required but an instant of firmness to make the people of the west perfectly happy. To suffer the instant to escape would be for them to place themselves forever under the oppression of the Atlantic states.

The baron declared that Spain, limiting itself to the possession of the forts of Natchez and Walnut Hills, would cede to the western states all the east bank of the Mississippi from thirty-one degrees to the Ohio, which would form a very extensive and powerful republic, and that Spain would not interfere with its constitution and laws. Mr. Power was also directed to conciliate Mr. Ellicott, the American commissioner, and endeavor to induce him to come to New Orleans.*

Mr. Power went secretly through Tennessee overland, to avoid the forts, to Kentucky, and had an interview with Sebastian, and the others, and then went on to Detroit, where General Wilkinson was. Wilkinson was no longer so sanguine as to the hopefulness of a separation of the western states, for the reason that so many of the purposes for which there had been such a desire, had now by treaty been realized. He complained of having been betrayed before; but he told Power that if he was made governor of Natchez, he would there have opportunities to comply with the baron's political desires. He held secret meetings with Power; while, because of the suspicions that he was conscious were resting on him for his Spanish dealings,† he publicly sent Power away under guard, and, apparently, in disgrace.‡ Power, on his return to New Orleans, gave a discouraging account of the disposition of the great body of the western people in the matter of separation.

In November, 1798, Mr. Ellicott, the commissioner, states that by a very extraordinary accident a letter from the governor-general, on its way to a confidential officer in the Spanish

*Clark, p. 84.

†Clark, p. 89; Wilkinson Mem., II, Note 48.

‡Clark, Notes, p. 97.

service, fell into his hands. The letter contained the most unequivocal proof of the late existence of a plan to injure the United States, in which a number of citizens were engaged, and a correspondence between Spanish officials, and one whom he indicates as General Wilkinson. He says that dispatches and twenty thousand dollars in silver were sent up from New Orleans; and although the boat was searched, these articles were overlooked. These facts he communicated in cypher to the State Department.*

On the twenty-ninth of March, 1799, the Spaniards having lost all hope of causing a dismemberment of the Union, evacuated the forts at Natchez, and the United States troops on the next day entered into occupation. Thus ended the long cherished dreams of Spain to build up a strong nation at the gateway of the Mississippi. So long ago as 1783, the Count de Aranda, the Spanish minister, declared to his king his belief that both France and Spain had acted in opposition to their own interests in espousing the cause of the colonies. "This Federal Republic," he said, "is now a pigmy. The day will come when she will be a giant. She will forget the services she has received from the powers which have helped her, and will think only of her own aggrandizement." By the strange irony of fortune, all that Spain received for the alliance of 1778 was the Floridas, by which she hoped to retain the commercial control of the Gulf of Mexico, which for years had been slipping away; but in this she was disappointed. All that she had was eight years' possession of Florida and Louisiana, and the revisionary right of the latter from France. By recognizing the political existence of a great, independent nation in the new world, Spain condemned herself to lose, sooner or later, the magnificent transatlantic domain, the sovereignty of which had been transmitted by the princes of Austria to the Bourbons.†

The treaty with Spain in 1795, gave to the citizens of the United States the right to deposit produce in New Orleans, for

* Blennerhasset Pap. p. 429. Ellicott's Journal, p. 183.

† R. C. Winthrop, 'France and United States,' p. 38.

export trade, for the period of three years, which time might be extended, or some other point on the island designated for the purpose. The attitude of Spain to this country in 1799 was not pacific. Her privateers preyed upon our commerce, and in July the Intendant Morales issued an order prohibiting the use of New Orleans as a place of deposit by the western people, without designating any other point.* Naturally, when this order became known, it excited the most intense indignation. The west had become too strong and resolute to endure this closing up of her great artery of trade.

An immediate campaign was set on foot against Louisiana. President Adams called for the raising of twelve new regiments. Three regiments were ordered to assume a position near the mouth of the Ohio, and to keep their boats in readiness to go down the river. General Washington accepted the chief command† of the armies raised in the east and west. He, however, died that fall, and the retirement of Mr. Adams from the Presidency, and the entire change in Federal politics, caused a suspension of hostilities, and a disbanding of the regiments in the summer of 1800.‡

In the meantime Napoleon,¶ whose power was at its zenith in Europe, had set on foot inquiries which gave him the most minute information about Louisiana, and he had determined as a part of the vast system which he had planned with which to aggrandize France, to acquire this then Spanish province. A remarkable memoir,§ prepared for him by Mr. Pontalba, who had long resided in the colony, and had held official position under Spain, states, with extraordinary comprehensiveness and eloquence, the present and prospective importance of the country about the mouth of the Mississippi. He says that Louisiana is the key of America, and, therefore, of the highest importance, and has been for a long time past the object of the

*Barbé Marbois, p. 233. Gayarrè, S. Dom., p. 399.
†Sparks' Washington, XI, p. 395.
‡Gayarrè, S. D., p. 409.
¶Barbé Marbois, p. 184.
§Gayarre, S. D., p. 410.

ambition of the United States. He argued that an appropriation of three millions of francs, to be placed in the western country, would procure the immigration of thirty thousand persons to the better lands near the mouth of the Mississippi, and that the immigrants from Kentucky and the neighboring districts would sell their lands and come down into Louisiana, where they could have land for nothing, and better facilities for trade. He also showed that France would in this hold the key of Mexico, and be able to control its commerce. He thought such a power, affording the best market for all this grown in the Mississippi valley, would present a powerful motive to induce the inhabitants of the western districts to separate from the United States, in order to form an alliance with France, with the obligation that they should defend Louisiana in case of an attack from the United States. He spoke of the powerful influence which General Wilkinson—although he did not call him by name, as not desiring to expose him—had extended on behalf of Spanish interests for a series of years, and expressed no doubt but that such interest could still be secured.

Pontalba presented his memoir on the fifteenth of September, 1800, and on the first of October a treaty was concluded at St. Ildefonso,* an article of which was that the king of Spain engaged to retrocede to the French Republic within six months after the execution of the treaty with the Duke of Parma, the province of Louisiana, with the same limits that it had then in the hands of Spain, that it had when France possessed it, and for such enlarged territory as had been acquired from the treaties which had subsequently been made between Spain and other states. The stipulation with the Duke of Parma was that Napoleon was to put the duke, who was a member of the Spanish house of Bourbons, in possession of Tuscany, and erect it into a kingdom. For this boon Spain was to cede Louisiana to France. The vast territory, therefore, included under the name of Louisiana was bartered off for a petty Ital-

* 'Barbè Marbois,' p. 184.

ian principality. As France was at war with Great Britain, and this power was master of the sea, and could easily attack and conquer Louisiana, if known to be a French dependency, all knowledge of the treaty between France and Spain was carefully concealed, and Spanish officials remained in power.

The cession of Louisiana to France was a blow to the United States,* as it placed at the gateway of the Mississippi a strong and aggressive power, instead of a weak one, such as Spain was. It was also a menace to Great Britain, because, if France extended her influence up the Mississippi river towards the British possessions in Canada, it virtually destroyed the results of the Seven Years' war and the treaty of 1763. Intimations of the ratification of the treaty of cession gradually came to the ears of our ministers abroad; and they set on foot remonstrances against it. Before publicity was had, however, peace was concluded, on the first of October, 1801, between Great Britain and France; and, concealment being no longer necessary, the latter power immediately prepared to send twenty-five thousand troops to Louisiana.

Delay in dispatching the force, however, resulted from a difference between Spain and France as to the meaning of the treaty; whether the cession included Florida or not. In the meantime the Mississippi, which had been opened for deposits at New Orleans in 1801, was on the sixteenth of October, in the next year, closed again, in accordance with the policy of the Spaniards to discourage the settlement of Americans in Louisiana. This produced great excitement throughout the country, as it also came near causing a famine in New Orleans by stopping the supplies of flour and other western produce. Strong remonstrances were made to the general government against the injury caused to the west by these repeated interruptions of her commerce. Barbè Marbois, in his history, gives a specimen of some of the language used by the western people.† "The Mississippi," said they, "is ours by nature. Its mouth

* Bauduy des Lozieres, Sec. Voy., p. 195.

† P. 235. Gayarre, S. D., p. 456.

is the only issue which nature has given to our waters, and we wish to use it for our vessels. No power shall deprive us of this right. If our most perfect liberty in this matter is disputed, nothing shall prevent us from taking possession of the Capital, and when we are once masters of it, we shall know how to maintain ourselves there. If Congress refuses us effectual protection, we will adopt the measures which our safety requires, even if they endanger the peace of the Union, and our connection with the other states. No protection, no allegiance."

Mr. Livingston, the American minister in Paris, sent over specially by Mr. Jefferson to settle this business, discovered that the projected establishment in Louisiana was disapproved of by every statesman in France* as certain to cause a great waste in men and money, excite enmities and produce no possible advantage to the nation. Mr. Livingston pressed upon the French government the expediency of their selling the country to the United States. The United States, he said, did not desire the territory west of the Mississippi river, and by ceding the district on the eastern side, the respective nations would have the river as a safe boundary, and the claims of American citizens also against France for spoliations could be satisfied. Mr. Madison, the Secretary of State, in representing to Mr. Livingston the sensibility of the western people on this subject, and the reasonableness of this sensibility, said: "The Mississippi to them is everything. It is the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac and all the navigable streams of the Atlantic states formed into one stream."†

The denial of the right to deposit was taken up in Congress, when it was seen that efforts at negotiation for redress were fruitless, and resolutions were passed in the House to raise eighty thousand troops to vindicate the natural right of the western country to the free navigation of the Mississippi.‡

* Amer. State Pap., II, p. 513.
† Gayarré, S. D., p. 473.
‡ Gayarré, S. D., p. 492.

While these negotiations were going on, war was on the point of breaking out again between Great Britain and France, and the prospect of this forced the question of the ownership of the territory to its issue. For if France still held possession after war was declared, Great Britain, which had a fleet in the Gulf of Mexico, would seize Louisiana, and France would lose it and get nothing. On the eleventh of April, 1803, Talleyrand asked* the American minister whether he wished to have the whole of Louisiana. Mr. Livingston, in his reply, showed what to us now seems a singular lack of perception in his estimate of the relative value of the parts in question. Louisiana included then the whole country west of the Mississippi, as far as Mexico and the Pacific, and north as far as the British lines; and also, as the United States then supposed, east and west Florida. It afterwards appeared that east Florida had not been ceded to France by Spain,† and therefore could not be sold. When Talleyrand then asked Livingston whether the United States desired to have the whole of the country, Livingston replied that they did not, that they wished only for New Orleans and the Floridas. Talleyrand replied that if France gave New Orleans, the rest would be of little value to her, and he wished an offer from the United States for the whole of it.

The interest was intense on both sides of the ocean. Napoleon had set his heart on this plan for the extension of France; a force was ready to start under Bernadotte to occupy the country; war was instantly impending between France and Great Britain; the ministers of the United States and France were having daily conferences. Our country was still poor, and could not afford to pay large purchase money. The difference between what was first offered, twenty millions, and what France demanded, one hundred millions of francs, made the prospect of agreement remote. To make a result more feasible, and yet with a strange insensibility to the future importance of the region in question, Mr. Livingston even suggested to Mr. Mad-

* Barbè Marbois, p. 305.

† Barbè Mar., p. 313.

ison that, if only New Orleans and the Floridas could be kept, the purchase money to be paid might be raised by the sale of the territory west of the Mississippi river, with the right of sovereignty, to some power in Europe, whose vicinity we should not fear.*

At length, on the tenth of April, 1803, Napoleon expressed his purpose to sell, and on the thirtieth the treaty was signed by which the whole of Louisiana, including west Florida, all that had been acquired by France from Spain,† was transferred to the United States, on the condition of the payment of sixty millions of francs, exclusive of the amounts due by France to American citizens on account of spoliations, which account the United States assumed. ‡When Napoleon was informed of the signing of the treaty, he prophetically said: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride.‖"

The first point gained in the effort to secure the reluctant consent of Napoleon to the sale of Louisiana, was the absolute pledge which Mr. Livingston extorted, that the claims of our merchants by reason of the spoliations by French privateers should be paid. This compelled § that something should be done. In the treaty with France in 1778, however, the United States had pledged themselves to France, as one of the conditions of the alliance, to guarantee forever all the possessions in America which France had or should have.¶ This was a vast and perpetual obligation, which the United States

* Gayarré S. D., p. 509.

† Amer. State P. I. p. 507

‡It is a curious fact, brought out recently by M. Leon Say, that there is no trace whatever in the French archives of the receipt of the fifteen millions of dollars paid by the United States for the purchase of Louisiana. Napoleon probably appropriated it to his own use. It has been surmised that he treated with the American commissioners directly through Marbois, rather than through his minister, Talleyrand, because of his fears of the latter's well known rapacity.—'Adams' Neutrality in America.' p. 35.

‖ Barbé Mar., p. 314.

§ Oneida Historical Coll., 1881, p. 166.

¶ Treaties U. S. p. 243.

had not seen the full effect of. This would have to be abrogated. France would only consent to it, however, on the assumption by the United States of the payment of the debts which France owed to our marine for spoliations. Thus the little word "forever," in the treaty,* was only redeemed twenty-three years after at the price of ten millions of dollars, which the United States pledged itself to pay, and not one cent of which French claims has up to this time been paid to our citizens.

This whole business had to be concluded in Paris, with no special communications from this country, the United States ministers, Livingston, and Monroe who had been specially sent, taking the responsibility. The vote in the Senate to ratify the treaty was twenty-six to six, these last all being from New England. In the debate † objections were made to the treaty, and strong fears were expressed of the stability of the government with its citizens removed two or three thousand miles from the capital, where they could scarcely feel the rays of the general government. Senator White of Tennessee declared that he would rather see the territory to the west of the Mississippi *given* to France, to Spain, or to any other nation, upon the mere condition that no citizen of the United States should ever settle within its limits, than to have it *sold* for one hundred millions of dollars, and we retain the sovereignty.

So soon as Spain heard of the sale to the United States,‡ she vigorously protested, because France had covenanted with her never to part with the country, and she declared that she ought to have had the first chance for purchase. For a time it was thought that Spain would not make a peaceful surrender. The French had sent Laussat to Louisiana as a commissioner to receive the district from Spain, before the cession was made to the United States. On the thirtieth of November, 1803, Spain surrendered Louisiana to France. On the twentieth of Decem-

* C. F. Adams. Add. N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1870, p. 38.

† Gayarré S. D. p. 561.

‡ Barbé Mar., p. 345. Gayarré, S. D., p. 535.

ber, twenty days after, the tricolored standard of France gave place to the American flag.*

A recognition of the immense issues which were at stake in the possession of the mouth of the Mississippi river will be had in this rapid statement of the varied means used to maintain the control of it, and the reluctance shown in parting with it. The west was constantly becoming a larger factor in the nation; and, in the manifestation of its discontent at the monopolizing by the east of all the great offices, it succeeded in causing the nation to purchase, for an amount which was then quite exhausting, the outlet of its great river and the country beyond, the wealth of which was only afterwards apprehended. Still New Orleans was, at the time of the purchase, virtually a foreign city, with only a comparatively small American colony in it. Many of the Spanish officers remained as residents, ready to sympathize with any movement hostile to the United States, and they had ultimately to be requested by the governor to remove. The purchase of the territory put a stop, however, for some time, to the efforts of conspirators.

The source from which sprang the motive for the next attempt at the separating of the west from the Union was the disappointed ambition of one of the most astute and daring men in American political life. That which furnished opportunity and hope to Burr, or any other adventurer, was the vast stakes that would fall into the hands of the boldest schemer, in the largely unsettled but fertile regions of the west, the remains of prejudice yet existing against the older and more calculating communities in the east, and the lack of entire national and social homogeneity arising from distance and imperfect communication. All this caused the eyes of disappointed ambition to turn for more hopeful fields of exercise to the new and more excitable communities in the west.

In the general election of 1801, Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr were found to have received the same number of electoral votes for President and Vice-President.† No one receiving a

* Martin, p. 295. Barbé Mar., p. 352. † Davis, Burr, I, 435.

majority of votes, the decision went to the House of Representatives. It was evident that the Republicans had intended their votes for Mr. Jefferson for President and Colonel Burr for Vice-President. When, however, the Federalists despaired of electing their candidate, Mr. Adams, they, in considerable numbers together with some Republicans, turned to Colonel Burr, and voted for him for President against Jefferson, and this with Burr's connivance. The contest was prolonged until within a few days of the time of the inauguration, when Mr. Jefferson was elected President and Colonel Burr Vice-President. His alleged complottings with the Federalists in this contest to seize the presidency were the occasion of the political feuds† in New York which resulted in the duel with Alexander Hamilton July 11, 1804. After Mr. Hamilton's death, Colonel Burr had to flee before the intense popular indignation, and was for a number of months in obscurity in the south. He returned to Washington in the winter of 1804–5, and took his place as the president of the senate. He was, however, himself aware that from the odium in which he was held his political fortunes were at an end. His term as Vice-President closed March 3, 1805, but he left Washington for Philadelphia before the close of the session, after making a speech of farewell which moved his bitterest opponents to tears.

General Wilkinson was in Washington at the time, having just been appointed governor of Louisiana,‡ with residence in St. Louis. He was an old friend of Burr. They had fought before Quebec together in 1775. He showed great interest in the fortunes of his former comrade. Wilkinson commended him to the delegates from Louisiana in Washington, and told them that so soon as Burr's vice-presidency was at an end he would go to Louisiana, where he had certain projects; adding that he was a man who would succeed in anything that he would undertake, and, throwing out mysterious hints, asked them to give him all the information in their power respecting that country.

† Hammond's Polit. Hist. N. Y., I., p. 131. ‡Blennerhassett Pap., p. 432

He also expressed to Matthew Lyon, the eccentric member from Kentucky, originally from Vermont, and who subsequently came out to Missouri, his sorrow that a person of Burr's brilliant abilities was about to be lost to public life, and wondered what he could do. Wilkinson urged* that a foreign mission be secured for him; but Lyon assured him that this would be impossible. Lyon, however, suggested that he might, if he took the right steps at once, be returned to Congress from Tennessee. To do this, however, he must instantly set out that spring, make a residence, and begin the practice of law in Nashville, and during the summer let his friends indicate that he would stand for Congress; and Mr. Lyon thought his abilities would, in the fall, secure him the position, and his killing of Hamilton would be found to have done him no injury. Burr took the matter up leisurely, allowed himself to loiter over a project for the cutting of a canal at the Falls of the Ohio, started for the west, went down the river, stopped at Blennerhassett's island, not however meeting the owner, as he was not at home, and so went on to Louisville. From thence he set out overland for Nashville, stopping on the way at Lexington, which was the centre of a brilliant social life and of political influence in Kentucky.

Mr. Lyon assured him at the time that, on account of his delays, his chance for being elected to Congress from Tennessee was destroyed, and stated afterward on Burr's trial that there seemed much mystery in his conduct, and he suspected projects which he could not penetrate. Burr's arrival and stay in Nashville were the occasion of an ovation. He then came down the Cumberland river to Fort Massac, sixteen miles below its mouth on the Ohio. Here in June he met Wilkinson, who had come down from St. Louis expressly for the purpose of having this meeting with Burr, with whom he had had for several years a cipher correspondence. Wilkinson furnished him with an elegant barge, with sails and crew, and gave him a letter of introduction to Daniel Clark, a wealthy merchant of New Orleans,

* Wilk. Mem., II., p. 273.

and Burr went down the river.* In his note Wilkinson commended Burr as a persecuted man, who had a claim on his services, about whose business there were many things of which he could not write, and for which he referred him to Burr in person. In New Orleans Burr, on account of the eminent position he had held in the previous administration, was highly honored, dined with Governor Claiborne and other distinguished persons, and was shown many other attentions.

It is to be noted, in view of subsequent events, that Mr. Clark, to whom Mr. Burr had been specially commended, within two months of Burr's visit set out on a journey to Mexico, with regard to the objects and results of which journey he wrote after his return to Wilkinson: "I have been to the land of promise, and have got safe from it, after having been represented as a person desirous of acquiring information about its strength, and where and how it may be assailed with the greatest probability of success. At a future period I shall communicate to you all I have picked up there."†

Wilkinson declared‡ that his purpose of commending Burr to Clark was that, since the expectation of election in Tennessee was at an end, he now desired to promote Burr's election to Congress from Orleans, or his appointment as governor in place of Claiborne. In his memoirs he complained that while he was thus ingenuously promoting Colonel Burr's political aspirations, Burr had already, while keeping him in ignorance, made Clark his confederate in the scheme for invading Mexico, and had persuaded Clark that himself and the army were ready to unite in an expedition against that country. A letter written from New Orleans during Burr's visit asserts that the common rumor there was that a combination was forming, the object of which was to take Louisiana out of the Union.

After a stay of some weeks in New Orleans, Burr went to Natchez, and from thence to Nashville, Lexington, Louisville, and from thence in September, 1805, to St. Louis, where he made a visit to Wilkinson, and also went with him to St

*Clark, p. 119. †Wilkinson, Mem. II. App. 73. ‡Wilkinson, II., p. 285.

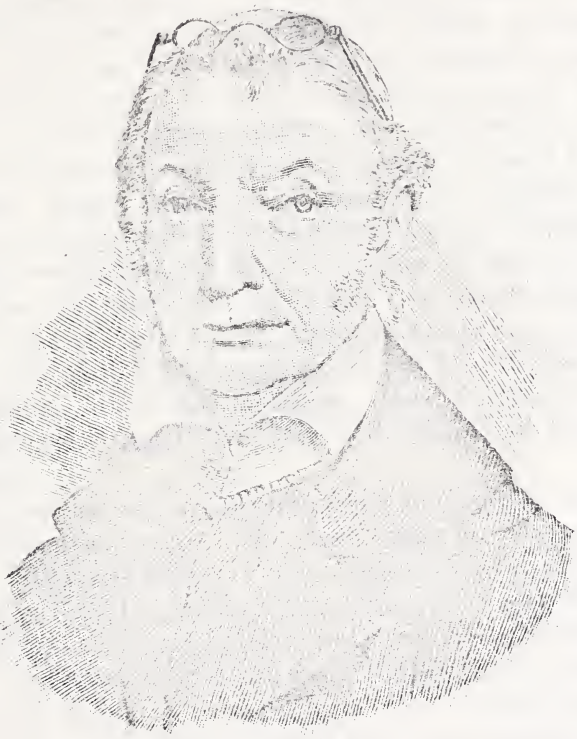
Charles. Before this, Major Seth Hunt stated that Wilkinson, on the twenty-eighth of June,* at Kaskaskia, in returning from his meeting with Burr at Fort Massac, declared to him that "he was engaged in a scheme full of danger, requiring enterprise; but, if successful, full of fortune and glory." †In the same year Wilkinson wrote to Colonel McKee, inquiring whether he could not raise a corps of cavalry "to follow his fortunes to Mexico."

At this time also, in June, and after his interview with Burr at Massac, Wilkinson assured General Adair, senator from Tennessee, that Burr reckoned on him in his project, and in a letter, marked "private," asks Adair to meet him, and he will tell him all, and that "they must have a peep at the unknown world beyond him."‡ Of the meaning of this allusion perhaps a hint may be had in the question contained in Adair's reply,§ "Pray, how far is it, and what kind of a way, from St. Louis to Santa Fé, and from thence to Mexico?" While Wilkinson protests that he knows nothing as yet of any confederacy, he declares his assurance that at this time Adair was connected with Burr's "sinister project."

As the result of his conversations during Burr's stay in St. Louis in September, 1805, Wilkinson states that he was persuaded that Burr had a scheme in hand, but that he did not know of its treasonable character, and that his confidence in Burr was shaken. In Burr's trial, subsequently, Wilkinson declared that in an interview in St. Louis, Burr stated that he had "a great project in contemplation, but whether it was authorized by the government or not Burr did not explain, nor did he inquire." The extreme unlikelihood of this statement is apparent. General Wilkinson and Colonel Burr had for years been corresponding intimately in cipher. Wilkinson was the commander-in-chief of the army, and would be in a position to know what projects were on foot by the government. He knew, moreover, that Burr was in utter antagonism to the President.

*Wilkinson II, p. 292-3. †Clark, 121. ‡Clark I., 120. §Wilkinson II., App. 77.

In September Burr left St. Louis for the east, and on the twenty-third was at Vincennes, where was General Harrison, the governor of the Northwestern territory, to whom Wilkinson had written a letter strongly commending Burr. Colonel Burr wrote back from there to Wilkinson, apparently about



AARON BURR.

the project which they had in common: "I have had no conversation on the subject you mentioned, but we have gone round about it, and there is every evidence of good will, in which I have entire belief. There is probably some secret embarrassment, of which you and I are ignorant."*

*Wilkinson, II, App. 82.

Burr went on to Philadelphia and Washington, between which places he remained until August, 1806. He had been indicted, in 1805, by the grand jury in New York for murder, in the matter of Hamilton, and this had been stated by General Adair as the cause of his going west. He had influential political adherents in New York and New Jersey, among whom were General Dayton, and the son of Matthew Ogden, of New Jersey, Samuel Swarwout and Marinus Willet, of New York. Among them he raised an amount of money for the purchase of a large tract of land on the Washita, a branch of the Red river, in the Louisiana country, the colonization of which was one of the alternative projects which he placed before his friends. Baron Bastrop had secured from Spain a concession of one million two hundred thousand acres of land. Mr. Lynch had bought from the baron six-tenths of this tract, the time for the completion of which purchase was drawing to its close. Colonel Burr, in July, 1806, contracted to purchase from Mr. Lynch the land, and was to pay fifty thousand dollars, and did pay down five thousand. Burr, for this purpose, raised among his friends forty thousand dollars, and more was forthcoming.

In the meantime he was writing frequently in cipher to Wilkinson, and Wilkinson replied. In April, 1806, he wrote to Wilkinson: "The execution of our project is postponed. Want of water in the Ohio rendered the movement impracticable. The association is enlarged, and comprises all that Wilkinson desires. Confidence limited to a few. Although this delay is irksome, it will enable us to move with more certainty and dignity. Burr will be throughout United States this summer."*

General Eaton, who had recently returned from operations against the pirates of Tripoli, and was supposed to have grievances against the government, because of its failure to reimburse him for advances made there, and who therefore might be supposed to be ready to entertain propositions adverse to the government, testified† in the trial of Burr that during the winter

*Wilkinson, II., App. 83. †Burr's trial, I., p. 536. Life of Eaton, p. 391.

of 1805-6, Burr informed him that he was forming a military expedition against the Spanish provinces to the southwest of the United States, and also had a project of revolutionizing the territory west of the Alleghany mountains, and establishing an independent empire there; New Orleans to be the capital, and himself the chief; gathering a military force on the waters of the Mississippi, and carrying conquest to Mexico. He said that he had in person made a tour through the western country during the previous season; that he had secured to his interests and attached to his person the most distinguished citizens of Tennessee, Kentucky, and the territory of Orleans; that he had inexhaustible resources and funds; that the army of the United States would act with him and be reinforced by ten or twelve thousand men from the above mentioned states and territories. He said that General Wilkinson would be the commander, and Burr offered Eaton the second place. He said that Wilkinson was doubtful about his retention of his present position and desired to secure a permanency with him, and would also use his influence with the army on the promise to it of double pay and rations, the ambition of the officers, and the prospect of plunder and military achievements. In addition to the positive assurances which Burr said he had of assistance and coöperation, he said that the vast extent of territory of the United States west of the Alleghany mountains would, with its offer to adventurers of the mines of Mexico, bring to his standard volunteers from all quarters of the Union. The line of separation of the Union was to be drawn by the Alleghanies. He was persuaded that he had secured the most considerable citizens of Kentucky and Tennessee, but expressed some doubts about Ohio, as he thought they were too much of a plodding, industrial people to engage in the enterprise.

Burr had three plans in mind,* and was incessantly moving about, putting forward one or the other projects, as he found persons more favorable to one or the other.

First. To organize the restlessness and discontent of the

*Amer. State Pap. Miscel. I., p. 468.

frontier states and territories, and to separate the southwest from the Union, and set up an independent government, with its capital in New Orleans.

Second. In conjunction with the first, to enlist recruits and make arrangements for an expedition against Mexico and the Spanish provinces, especially in the event of a war between Great Britain and Spain, which at that time seemed inevitable.

Third. In the event of the failure of both these projects, and as a means to commit to him and his measures irrevocably those who would revolt at such revolutionary plans as the foregoing, the purchase and colonization of the tract of land on the Washita river.

In deciding upon his course he was driven on by desperation and disappointed ambition. He gave too much credit to the declarations of a few partisan leaders who, in the desire to serve their own ends, overstated the restlessness of the western people. He made no proper estimate of the simple, law-abiding, republican habits of the great body of the inhabitants of the country. He deceived himself as to the conditional, really timid pledges of adherence on the part of a few men, which actually were wholly falsified in the event. And yet the brilliant audacity and versatility of Burr, in spite of his being almost alone in his planning, and of the popular odium and social isolation in which he was held, inspired and kept life in his scheme in spite of its desperation. As Wirt said afterward: "Pervading the continent from New York to New Orleans, he draws into his plan, by every allurement which he can contrive, men of all ranks and descriptions. To youthful ardor he presents danger and glory; to ambition, rank and titles and honors; to avarice, the mines of Mexico. To each person whom he addresses he presents the object adapted to his taste."*

On the fifteenth of April, 1806, Mr. Jefferson says† that, about a month before that time, Burr called on him and, reminding him that Jefferson had, some five years before, intimated his purpose to give him a high position if he had not

*Burr's Trial, II., p. 118. † Jefferson's Works, ix, 208.

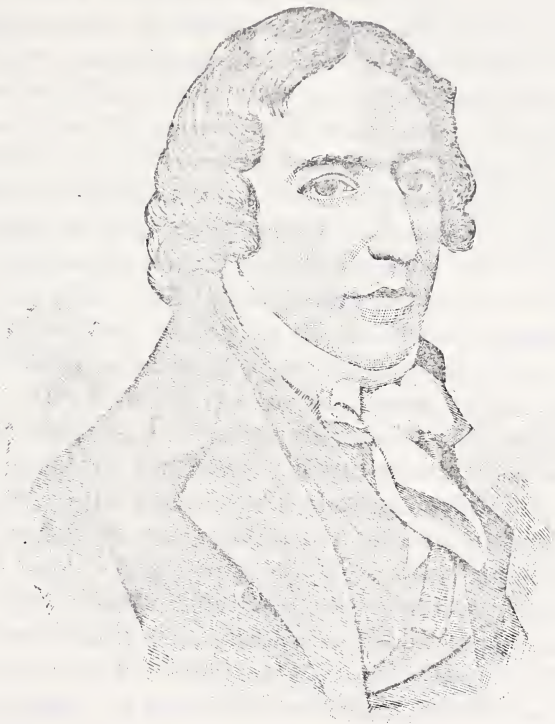
been elected as Vice-President, told him that he was now disengaged, had supported his administration, could do him, if he chose, great harm, and was willing to receive from him a proposition. Jefferson says that he replied to him that he was sensible of his talents, but that he must be aware the public had withdrawn their confidence from him; and that as to any harm Burr could inflict, he feared no injury which Burr could do him.

In May, 1806, General Wilkinson was ordered, because of the threatening character of the relations with Spain, to send all his available force from St. Louis to Fort Adams, now Vicksburg. He did so, and then ordered them up the Red river to guard the western frontier of the United States* along the river Sabine. The order from the war department under which he acted simply contemplated the placing of his forces at Fort Adams, guarding New Orleans, and then from there maintaining observations eastward in Florida and westward on the Sabine river.† The transportation of all his troops to the remote point up the Red river was faulted at the time as placing his force out of reach in case of any attack on New Orleans by an expedition under Burr coming down the Mississippi river. Wilkinson stated before the grand jury afterward in Washington that, between the time of his meeting Burr at Massac and this time, he had received six notes from him in cipher, which he did not desire to have exposed except in the last extremity,‡ and that they were calculated to inculpate him should they be exposed. Wilkinson left St. Louis to join the troops down the Mississippi on the twenty-fifth of August, and reached Natchitoches, on the Red river, on the twenty-second of September.

Burr arrived at Blennerhassett's Island,§ on the Ohio river, on his way west, in September, 1806. Blennerhassett was an Irish gentleman, a barrister of literary and philosophical tastes, who had spent too much of his not large fortune in the purchase, eight years before, and adornment of an island on the

* Wilkinson II. App. 87 and 90.
† Jeff. Works, V, p. 25.
‡ Clark, p. 117.
§ Blennerhassett Pap., p. 126.

Ohio, fourteen miles below Marietta. He now found himself wanting in ready means, and willing to embark in the southern venture, to which Burr had in general terms invited him, unconscious of all that it involved. A young family was growing up, in order to provide for whom he was ready to embark on the vague project in the Louisiana country which Burr, with his



HERMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

singular power of fascination, held up before him. They had corresponded, but had not personally met until this time, Blennerhassett having been absent when Burr stopped at the island in May of the previous year.

Burr imparted to his host, with some reserve, that the sentiments of the larger part of the inhabitants of the Orleans and

Mississippi territories were disaffected to the government to such an extent that, unless early measures were taken to prevent it, they would fling themselves into the arms of any foreign power which should pledge itself to protect them. He declared that, in such an event, the western states would be placed in a dilemma, out of which they could only escape by an eastern or western ascendancy of interests; they would no longer consent to an alliance, but would sever themselves from the Union. He said that the separation of the western from the Atlantic states was no new project, that it was a matter of daily discussion at Washington, and that so thoroughly disgusted were the people of New Orleans with the conduct of the administration—both with reference to themselves and to Spanish and American affairs—that he expected to hear of the beginning of a revolt in their seizing on the bank and custom house, and appropriating to themselves the revenues and forces of the territory. He declared that he had been invited, when he was in New Orleans, to become the leader of a society of young men there, who had taken possession of a number of cannon belonging to the French, for a Mexican invasion.

Blennerhassett was easily drawn into the project which Burr had in hand. In the month of September active preparations were begun for the contemplated expedition. Contracts were given out for the construction of fifteen large batteaux, sufficient to convey five hundred men, and a large keel boat for the transportation of provisions and arms, for the most of which Blennerhassett became responsible. While this work was going on, Burr visited Marietta, where his elegant manners, ready address and former political eminence made him very popular. He was asked to drill some troops. He visited Chillicothe, the seat of government in Ohio, and so passed on to Cincinnati, and then continued his journey to Lexington, Kentucky. He gave out that his expedition had the approval of the government. His object was to extend his acquaintance and enlist recruits. To these he promised pay, and land on the Washita.

He induced Blennerhassett to write for the *Ohio Gazette*,

published at Marietta, a series of essays, the design of which was to show the permanent antagonism between the commercial interests of the eastern and western states; that the land laws were invidious and unjust to western settlers; that the western people had paid the government more than four hundred thousand dollars a year, and had received nothing in return for it. On such considerations he based the conclusion that a separation of the eastern and western states was necessary, and that the western people should positively assert themselves. It is interesting to notice that, at this time, before the introduction of steam navigation, the writer remarks: "It will forever remain impracticable for our shipping to perform a return voyage against the currents of our long rivers." It was frequently found best then, in going from New Orleans to Cincinnati, instead of going up the river, to go around by sea to Baltimore, and then travel overland to the Ohio.

Burr, accompanied by his daughter, Theodosia, and her husband, Mr. Alston, with Blennerhassett, went in October to Lexington, which was designated as the point of rendezvous. The town was then a central point in the west, and society was the most polite and intelligent in the Mississippi valley. The oldest and best families in the south were represented there. The manner of the reception of Burr and his associates in Lexington, the respect shown, the generous hospitality extended, flattered him with the hope of the popularity of the movement, a thorough organization of which was immediately begun.* Burr received from friends in Lexington not less than forty thousand dollars for the furtherance of his projects. In order to quiet alarm, the impression was given out that the object of the enterprise was simply the colonization of the Bastrop lands. Burr had brought with him a portion of the money raised in the east. His son-in-law, Mr. Alston, had large property in South Carolina, but had no ready money; and so Blennerhassett had to join his personal credit with the security promised him on Alston's estate, in order to procure the means required.

* Blennerhassett Pap., p. 467.

In the meantime the preparations making had not escaped the attention of the government at Washington.* Mr. Madison, the secretary of state, directed Mr. John Graham, secretary of the Orleans territory, to ascertain and report the facts. He learned in Lexington that Mr. Burr reported that he had a credit of two hundred thousand dollars with Daniel Clark of New Orleans. He also warned the governor of Ohio of the treasonable designs of Burr and Blennerhassett within the borders of the state. Burr, leaving directions for the completion of the preparations, and for Blennerhassett to join him with his force at the mouth of the Cumberland, went down to the Falls of the Ohio. He had scarcely landed in Kentucky before Colonel Daviess, the district attorney, on the third of November, before the federal court, denounced the conspiracy, and moved for a warrant for the arrest of Burr for treasonable practice. Judge Innis, who, with Judge Sebastian, John Brown and General Wilkinson, had been during the summer denounced by the *Western World*, published in Frankfort, as intriguing with Spain, after two days overruled the motion.†

Burr appeared in court and, while declaring that the judge had treated the matter as it deserved, said that, as the motion might be renewed in his absence, he had challenged the district attorney to prove his charge. He retained Mr. Clay, then a young man, as one of his counsel. When the day of trial came, the attorney found that he could not procure his witnesses, and the grand jury returned the indictment "not a true bill," and completely exonerated him. The result greatly added to Burr's popularity in the state. Mr. Clay said that, before appearing for Burr, he called on him for a pledge that he was not unlawfully engaged, which he gave.‡ Mr. Clay afterward declared that Burr had lied. He met Burr for the first time after this in 1815, in the United States court room in New York, and Mr. Clay then declined to give Burr his hand, because of the deception which had been practised on him.§

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* Blennerhassett Pap., p. 154.
† Allen, History Ky., p. 72.
‡ Butler, Kentucky, p. 315.
§ Prentice, Life of Clay, p. 34.

After the culmination of Burr's project, the Kentucky legislature instituted an inquiry into the allegation against Judge Sebastian, that he had been a pensioner of Spain for two thousand dollars a year; but he, to stifle the inquiry, resigned his office, but not before a committee had unanimously reported that for years he had been regularly receiving pay from Spain.

The authorities of Ohio moved vigorously in consequence of the information furnished them by Graham. The militia were called out, and pressed upon Blennerhassett and his men so closely that, while some of the boats were stopped and Blennerhassett arrested, the latter was forcibly released by his fellow conspirators, and he and his men in boats left the island and started down the Ohio at midnight of the tenth of December.

In order to lull suspicion and to add to his resources, Burr had been compelled in Washington and New Orleans to assume a double part. To the Marquis de Yrujo, the Spanish minister, he protested that his purpose was to divide the American Union. This was a measure highly agreeable to Spain. The transfer of Louisiana to the United States was always a hateful thing. Many of the Spaniards in Louisiana hoped that the separation was not final;* they thought that they would recover the territory after some struggle over the different interpretations of the articles of the treaty concerning boundaries. Our commerce on the Mobile and Tombigbee rivers was harassed by arbitrary duties and vexatious searches. The boundaries of Louisiana on the line of the Sabine were in dispute. The Choctaws in the Mississippi territory were incited to war with the United States. The former Spanish governor, Casa Calvo, and the Intendante stayed on in New Orleans and were the centre of cabals. They were told by Governor Claiborne, January 10, 1806, that they must leave the territory. In consequence they were greatly offended.† Yrujo therefore entered heartily into Burr's plans to divide the Union, and visited and advised with him. He offered him the use of ten thousand stand of arms, and money to any necessary amount.‡

*Gayarrè, S. D., p. 128. †Madison II., 308. ‡Gayarrè Am. Dom., p. 181.

On the other hand, to Merry, the British minister to Washington, Burr represented that he was intending to proceed against Mexico, and as such a measure would be favorable to British interests, and would throw the United States into alliance with England as opposed to France and Spain, Burr declared that he had from Merry the pledge that the British fleet would come to the mouth of the Mississippi river to help him, and that Commodore Truxton had gone to Jamaica to communicate, on the part of Burr, with the British commander. Truxton did not leave Washington, however, in fact, but communicated to the President regularly all that Burr said to him.

On the eighth of October General Wilkinson was at Natchitoches. He had written to Burr in cipher on the thirteenth of May, asking from him a statement of his designs. On this day there came to him Mr. Swartwout, of New Jersey, with a letter of introduction to him from Burr, and another letter for Colonel Cushing, the second in command, from General Dayton. He said that he was on his way to New Orleans, and had expected to find the army at Fort Adams on the Mississippi, and offered his services as a volunteer. The next morning Wilkinson told Cushing that Swartwout had brought him intelligence of an enterprise that was on foot in the western states, inimical to the United States, in which a great number of persons, possessing wealth, popularity and talents, were engaged; that Colonel Burr was at the head of it; that he had been offered the second command, and that the army was reckoned on to support it. Wilkinson bound Cushing to secrecy about the project and his communication.

The following are the letters thus received, all in cipher, the first from Burr, and dated July 22:* "I have at length obtained funds and have actually commenced. The eastern detachments from different points, and under different pretenses, will rendezvous on the Ohio on the first of November. Everything internal and external favors our view—naval protection of England is secured. Truxton is going to Jamaica to arrange with

*Amer. State Pap. Miscel. I., p. 471. Wilkinson II. p. 312.

the admiral there, and will meet us at Mississippi. It will be a host of choice spirits. Wilkinson shall be second to Burr only, and Wilkinson shall dictate the rank and promotion of his officers. Burr will proceed westward August 1, never to return. Send forthwith an influential friend with whom Burr may confer; this is essential to concert and harmony of movement Send a list of all persons known to Wilkinson, westward of the mountains, who could be useful, with a note delineating their character. Our project is brought to the point so long desired. Burr's plan is to move down rapidly from the falls (of the Ohio) on the fifteenth of November with the first five hundred or one thousand men in light boats, now constructing for that purpose, to be at Natchez between the fifth and fifteenth of December, there to meet you; then to determine whether to seize or pass by Baton Rouge. Send an answer; draw on me for all expense."

The next two letters delivered to Wilkinson were written by General Dayton, the close friend of Burr; the first on the sixteenth of July: "Everything appears to have conspired to prepare the train for a grand explosion; are you also ready? As you are said to have removed your headquarters down the river, you can retain your present position without suspicion. until your friends join you in December somewhere on the river Mississippi. Under the auspices of Burr and Wilkinson I shall be happy to engage, and when the time arrives you will find me near you." Eight days after this Dayton sought to bind Wilkinson fast to Burr's enterprise by intimating that he was in any event about to lose his position in the army. He wrote: "It is now well ascertained that you are to be displaced in next session. Jefferson will affect to yield reluctantly to the public sentiment, but yield he will; prepare yourself for it; you know the rest. You are not a man to despair, or even despond, especially when such prospects offer in another quarter. Are you ready? Wealth and glory. Louisiana and Mexico. Receive my nephew affectionately."

These letters came to Wilkinson on the eighth of October, but a little more than a month before the time named by Burr

when he said he would be at the Falls of the Ohio with his force coming down the river. Although it would seem as though time would be of great value, and that he would hastily return to the Mississippi and place Fort Adams and New Orleans in a condition for defence, for thirteen days Wilkinson did nothing but engage himself with the small force of Spaniards on the Sabine, and, as he says, endeavor to draw further facts out of Swartwout about the expedition.* His delay in communicating with the President had the more significance since he knew that the route of the messenger overland to Washington consumed over a month at best. The President wrote on the third of January, 1807, to Wilkinson, that his letter of November 12, brought by a special messenger, only reached him on the day before, having taken over fifty days in the transit.†

General Wilkinson, in his affidavit, No. 81, as reported to congress, swore that, having been requested by Swartwout to write to Burr, whom he was soon to meet, he declined to do so. It was, however, extorted from him afterwards in the examination in Richmond that he did write a letter to Burr from Natchitoches, that it was sent to Natchez, to which place he followed, recovered it and destroyed it.‡ This is probably the point at which, after long uncertainty, he at length determined to give up Burr and hold to the government. And even then he shaped his course in such a way that, if he discovered that Burr's project caught the popular favor and was likely to succeed, he might not be found to be committed irrevocably against it.

Only on the twenty-first of October did he send a message to the President; and even then he did not send the letters or copies of them which he had received; nor did he in a long communication mention the name of Burr as connected with the expedition. While the letter from Burr can hardly fail to convince one that Wilkinson was previously informed as to the conspiracy, Wilkinson, in his letter to the President, seems intent upon concealing the complicity of Burr. He declares

* Wilkinson II., p. 321. † Jefferson's Works, V, p. 26. ‡ Clark, p. 130.

in his memoirs, that even yet he could hardly bring himself to believe that his "long-loved friend," as he calls him, "could be engaged in a treasonable enterprise."*

On the fifth of November he received from Dr. Bollman, of New Orleans, a warm friend of Burr, copies of the letters of Burr and Dayton, which, for further certainty, had been commanded to be delivered to him. On the same day he received a letter from J. D. Donaldson, of Natchez, which informed him that a messenger from St. Louis had just made known to him a plan, with permission that he might inform the general of it, that, Wilkinson said, staggered credulity. It was that there was an expedition on foot to revolutionize the western country which was matured and ready to explode; that Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, Orleans and Indiana are combined to declare themselves independent on the fifteenth of November. It was added that an accredited agent of the conspiracy had approached some of the most influential persons in St. Louis and asked them to join, saying that if money was necessary it might be commanded to any extent. It was stated that the persons thus applied to altogether refused to concur in any such plan, and that it would be only superior force that would dispense with the oath of allegiance to the United States. The fact of the communication of this project in St. Louis was asserted; but, it was added, that there were only four persons in St. Louis privy to the disclosure made by the secret agent.†

It was, Wilkinson says, only on the receipt of this message that his mind, not even persuaded by what Swartwout had told him, and the letters brought him, was convinced that there was a conspiracy, and that Burr was at the head of it. It was only on the twelfth of November, more than a month after the receipt of the letters from Burr, that Wilkinson wrote to the President, sending a copy of the letters which he had received from Burr and Dayton. Even then he sent copies which were, as he himself afterwards confessed, garbled, with important changes made, and with all reference in them to

* II., p. 323. † Wilkinson, I., App. 88.

Burr's previous communications with him taken out. He says that this was done in order that he might not be inculpated with him. He at different times swore that one and the other forms of this important letter were faithful and correct. The fact that he was suspected was at all times present to his mind. When he revealed to Colonel Cushing the substance of Burr's letter, he bade him mark the date, in order that he might, if called on, make a statement afterward. Colonel Freeman, the commander in New Orleans, testified that Wilkinson put before him the rank and wealth which he might have if he would side with Burr. Governor Mead,* of Mississippi, wrote to Governor Claiborne, of Louisiana: "If Burr passes this territory with two thousand men, I have no doubt but that General Wilkinson will be your worst enemy. Be on your guard against the wily general. He is not much better than Cataline. Consider him as a traitor, and act as if certain thereof."† The messenger who took Wilkinson's letter of November 12, to the President affirmed that the first question which Jefferson put to him was: "Is Wilkinson sound in this business?"

The President, on his receipt of Wilkinson's first letter, as well as from information gained in other ways, issued his proclamation‡ against the conspiracy of Burr on November 27, 1806, in which he warned all persons from engaging in the treasonable expedition.

After Burr had secured his triumphal acquittal in Frankfort, about the middle of December, he went to Nashville to gather his recruits; but the proclamation of the President was now pressing hard upon him; and, while he had always overrated the number and zeal of his adherents, this evidence that those who joined him must be prepared to encounter the opposition of the government, paralyzed his work. The President afterward declared§ his judgment that the first blow which the enterprise received was from the energy of Governor Tiffin at Marietta, and that the plot was crippled by the activity of Ohio.

*Cable, Creoles of Lou., p. 153.
†Gayarré, Am. Dom. p. 169.
‡Wilkinson, L., App., 96.
§Jefferson's Works, V., p. 28.

Burr went down the Cumberland river with only two boats, although he expected a force to come overland from Tennessee, and meet him on the Mississippi near Natchez. Burr knew thoroughly the condition of the road from Nashville to Bayou Pierre, the point on the Mississippi near Natchez, where the force was to rendezvous. On the twenty-seventh of December Burr joined Blennerhassett,* who had nine boats, at the mouth of the Cumberland; and they all proceeded down the Mississippi. Six days after they came to Chickasaw Bluffs, where was Lieutenant Jackson with a detachment of United States troops. Burr strove to induce him to join them, putting before him in strong colors what brilliant results would follow for those who survived, and while he did not state fully what his plans were, he assured him that they were honorable. Jackson, however, was firm in refusing. The situation for Burr had now become desperate. Those who had pledged to him their adherence altogether withdrew on the appearance of the President's proclamation, which showed the lawlessness of the undertaking. All the western states called out their militia, and the most rigid measures were taken all along the Mississippi to quell the expedition. Burr saw that he must destroy all the military features of his enterprise, and declare that it was only intended as a colonizing party for the Washita country. Accordingly one night he ordered all the chests of arms to be thrown into the Mississippi river.

Burr landed at Bayou Pierre, thirty miles above Natchez, in the Mississippi territory, on the seventh of January, 1807. On the seventeenth he surrendered himself to Cowles Mead, the acting governor,† only declaring his wish not to fall into the hands of Wilkinson, whom he called a perfidious villain, and said that if he was sacrificed his portfolio would prove him to be a villain. When the case of Burr was given into the hands of the grand jury, they declared that there was no evidence against him, and, pending his request to be released on his own recognizance, and hearing that instantly upon his release he was to

* Blennerhassett Pap., 186. † Wilkinson, II., 337.

be arrested again by the governor, he changed his clothes and escaped across the country eastward. His company, in the meantime, were in great confusion, and with no money. The leaders were arrested by the United States authorities, and the others scattered, and went back home.

In the meantime Wilkinson, aroused at last from his indecision, seemed determined by a frenzied, histrionic* activity against Burr to conceal his previous complicity. He reached New Orleans on the twenty-fifth of November ordering Fort Adams to be dismantled, which should have been rather strengthened, if, as he declared to the President, seven thousand men were coming down the river with Burr. He made requisition on Governor Mead for his militia, in order to take them to New Orleans. This, however was refused on the reasonable ground that it would strip the country of all means of resistance. He arbitrarily arrested in New Orleans those whom he suspected of complicity with Burr, some of whom could give very damaging evidence against himself; and with the force of the army resisted the process of the courts for their release under the *habeas corpus* act.

Burr subsequently declared that he never had any idea of dividing the Union, that his hopes of prospering in his expedition against Mexico had depended upon war being declared between Great Britain and Spain, that this expedition was defeated by the death of Pitt early in 1806, and that Wilkinson thereupon lost heart in the project. Wilkinson confessed, however, that in October he said to Swartwout he would not oppose Burr's expedition.†

Burr was reärrested on the seventeenth of February, 1807, in northern Alabama, traveling with a companion, under an assumed name, endeavoring to make his way to Pensacola, then under the king of Spain. He was charged with high misdemeanor, in setting on foot within the United States a military expedition against Spain, a friendly power; and also with treason, in assembling an armed force, with design to seize New Orleans,

* Cable, Creoles of Lou., p. 153. Eaton, p. 403. †Clark, p. 163.

to revolutionize the territory attached, and separate the western from the Atlantic states. It was with great difficulty that Burr could be taken through the country as a prisoner. He appealed to the civil authorities against his military arrest. The ladies everywhere espoused his cause, and children were named after him.*

At length Burr reached Richmond, Virginia, where, under Chief Justice Marshall, his trial began on the seventeenth of August. There was a brilliant array of counsel on each side. Political feeling ran at that time very high, and the greatest excitement prevailed in Richmond and in Washington over the progress and results of the trial. The President was a Republican, and was bitterly opposed to Burr. The Chief Justice was more of a Federalist, and was scrupulously exact and, some thought, almost timid, in his rulings. The President wrote at the time to a friend: "The Federalists make Burr's cause their own and exert their whole influence to shield him from punishment. It is unfortunate that federalism is still predominant in our judiciary department, which is consequently in opposition to the legislative and executive branches, and is able to baffle their measures often."†

Testimony was received touching Burr's conversations, showing his intent before overt acts began. In addition to the evidence given by General Eaton, which has been already referred to, Colonel Morgan and his son testified that in August, 1806, Colonel Burr had, at their house in western Pennsylvania, declared that, in less than five years, the west would be totally divided from the Atlantic states, and that the Alleghany mountains would be the line of division. He said that great numbers were not necessary to execute great military deeds; all that was wanted was a leader in whom they could place confidence, and who, they believed, would carry them through. He averred that, with two hundred men, he could drive congress, with the President at its head, into the river Potomac, and that, with five hundred men, he could take possession of New York.‡

*Pickett's His. Alabama, *ad. loc.* †Jefferson's Works, V, 165. ‡Burr's Trial, I, p. 566.

Evidence was also received concerning the transactions on Blennerhassett's Island, which, however, took on an unmistakably warlike character only after Burr had left. Long arguments were heard as to the competency of other evidence which was offered. At length the court ruled* that no testimony relative to the conduct and declarations of the prisoner elsewhere and subsequent to the transactions on Blennerhassett's Island could be admitted, because such testimony, being in its nature corroborative, and incompetent to prove the overt act in itself, was irrelevant until there was proof had of the overt act by two witnesses; that the overt act on Blennerhassett's Island was proved, but the presence of the accused was not alleged; that his presence when and where the overt act was committed was necessary. In consequence of this ruling, the jury, on September the first, 1807, found that Burr was not proved guilty of treason, under the indictment, by any evidence submitted to them.

In the trial for misdemeanor, Burr was, on the fifteenth of September, discharged, because the evidence sustaining it was, under the former ruling of the court, excluded. It was also ruled† (1) that the declaration of three persons, not forming a part of the transaction, and not made in the presence of the accused, is not to be received; (2) that acts of accomplices, except so far as they prove the character and object of the expedition, cannot be taken in evidence; (3) that acts of accomplices in another district, even though they constitute substantial cause for a prosecution, cannot be taken in evidence unless they go directly to prove the charges made in this district; (4) that legal testimony to show that the expedition was military, and destined against Spain, is to be received.

Burr was accordingly remanded for trial to Ohio, where the offense was said to have been committed; but no further proceedings against him were had. Indignation was very widely expressed at the result of the trial. The President himself wrote thus to General Wilkinson‡ about the failure to convict

*Burr's Trial, I, 549. †Burr's Trial (Robertson), I, 539. ‡Jefferson's Works, V., 168.

Burr: "The scenes which have been enacted at Richmond are such as have never before been exhibited in any country where all regard to public character has not yet been thrown off. They are equivalent to a proclamation of impunity to every traitorous combination which may be formed to destroy the Union. However, they will produce an amendment to the constitution which, keeping the judges independent of the Executive, will not leave them so of the nation." Burr went abroad directly after the trial.

The case of Blennerhassett, which was really determined by the result of Burr's trial, was remanded to Ohio, but no further prosecution followed. He was distressed by the losses which he had brought on himself by his adherence to Burr. He became, however, completely disillusioned as to Burr's perfidy and sensuality in the closer intimacy which he had with him during the trial in Richmond. Although both Burr and his son-in-law, Alston, had promised to make good the advances which he had made, they neither of them did so, although Blennerhassett, in the loss of his home and in his utter need otherwise, begged them for a repayment of what he had sacrificed for Burr. In consequence he suffered from poverty to the end of his life. His son, Joseph Lewis Blennerhassett, was engaged in the practice of the law, and died in Lincoln county, Missouri, in 1862.

Wilkinson, in the trial of Burr, of course gave only so much evidence against him as his hatred of Burr drew forth, and as would conceal his own complicity. He was true to his craven instincts to the last. Immediately after the conclusion of the trial in Richmond he sent his confidential agent, Walter Burling, into Mexico, as he declared, "on grounds of public duty and professional enterprise, to attempt to penetrate the veil which concealed the topographical route to the City of Mexico, and the military defenses which intervened, feeling that the equivocal relations of the two countries justified the *ruse*."* Burling was really sent to apprise the viceroy of the attempt of Burr,

*Wilkinson I., p. 417.

and to demand, on Wilkinson's behalf, a compensation of two hundred thousand dollars for, as he declared, "great pecuniary sacrifices in defeating Burr's plan, and, Leonidas-like, throwing himself into the pass of Thermopylæ." Yturrigaray, the viceroy, received the communication with indignation, and told Burling that General Wilkinson in counteracting any treasonable plan of Burr's did no more than comply with his duty, that he would take good care to defend the kingdom of Mexico against any attack or invasion, and that he did not think himself authorized to give one farthing to General Wilkinson in compensation for his pretended services. The demand having been contemptuously refused, Burling was ordered to leave the country.*

Thus ended the last attempt at separating the western country from the American Union. As all such attempts had their strength in the distance and isolation, and consequently the ignorance and prejudice of the sections, it may be confidently believed that in the comparative homogeneity of the affections and interests of all the people of the land now, by reason of rapid and constant communication, no such attempts will again be made, or, if made, will gain even the limited standing and proportions which those in the past have done.

Our multiplying railroad bars and telegraph wires are more than material lines of communication. Themselves created by the physical and commercial needs of a great people, they are the sensitive nerve connections of a complex social organism. Along them pulse the currents of intelligence and an identical interest, and they convey and perpetuate the throbbings of simultaneous impulses and common national aspirations. In these are furnished, under God, the sure hope and presage of the perpetuity of our American Union.

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*Davis, Burr, II., pp. 401-4. Blennerhassett Pap., pp. 210 and 578.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1894.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS,

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

AND

LIST OF MEMBERS.

JUNE 1, 1894.

PRESS OF NIXON-JONES PRINTING CO.,
215 PINE STREET,
ST. LOUIS.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 1866.

PRESIDENTS.

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NATHAN RANNEY	1869–72
ALBERT TODD	1873–74
JOHN B. JOHNSON	1875–76
JAMES G. BARRY	1877–78
PETER L. FOY	1878–80
EDWIN HARRISON	1880–82
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PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

MAY 8, 1894.

The seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have each opened with decided literary tendencies. The first dawned in the clear, growing light of the era of Elizabeth, when the early forces of English Literature were in full play. The second came forward with less fascination, with more tame and tempered light, as the Augustan Age of art. The third, the age of Scott, and Byron, and Shelley, and Wordsworth, restored us again to the impassioned power and freshness of the earlier period of the seventeenth century, and broke upon the English-speaking world in a day of creative energy, clothed anew with beauty and with strength. It is too early, perhaps, to characterize the middle and latter half of this century, which opened so auspiciously, in its relations to those periods that have gone before and those that are to follow. Not until the issues of an age are seen can we certainly say for what it is making ready, in what direction it is modifying the life it has received. Certainly these midway years of the present century have not been distinctively creative in literary art as compared with

those that immediately preceded them. They seem rather to indicate a gentle subsidence of those inventive powers which so exultingly lifted the national mind in Scott, Byron and Wordsworth.

The present is a prose rather than a poetic era, notwithstanding the fact that more poetry is written to-day than ever before. Questions of science, new theories, new fictions, new presentations of the life of past ages chase each other more rapidly around the English globe than new poems. While, however, it is a prose period, one of very diversified and very busy inquiry, of sharp and destructive criticism, of bold theory, and of practical reform everywhere and in everything, it can better be considered, while waiting for its final literary relations to disclose themselves, as a period of diffusion. In this particular it is broadly and nobly distinguished from every age that has gone before it. Above all ages our own deserves honor for this enlargement of thought, this scattering everywhere of some scant measure, at least, of the treasures of literary art.

The scientific is, on the whole, the predominant phase of thought with us. Philosophy seems sometimes in danger of suffering disparagement; historical, religious and social dogmas are kept in perpetual agitation and irritation by the bearing upon them of the scientific spirit, its theories and its facts. This science reaches the people in inventions and discoveries, in innumerable lines of

industrial improvement. It is not content, however, with this; popularized in a great variety of ways, it seeks and everywhere finds an enlarged and enlarging audience.

The love of facts, near and remote, that belongs to all scientific study, shows itself nowhere more conspicuously in these days than in the study and the writing of history. Historical research, criticism and composition have been so enlarged in these recent years as to have opened practically new fields for scientific and painstaking inquiry.

History, as preserved in written records, may be divided, according to its growth and scientific development, into three classes. First comes the simple chronicle of events, such as the annals kept by the monks in the medieval cloister, or the diary in which you and I note the state of the weather and the ordinary events of daily life. Then follows the plain, connected narrative, aiming at nothing but to tell the simple story, without seeking, or apparently caring for, the relations of cause and effect, as, for instance, the Chronicles of Froissart in the fourteenth century, or the History of England by Stowe and Holinshed in the sixteenth century. Finally, when the scientific spirit is aroused, when the living, human character of the complex organism which we call the community, or the state, or the nation, is realized, living because moved and controlled by men, complex because it is subject to all the vagaries of contradictory human nature, and is not

an automatic machine — then comes the philosophy of history, the study of the leading forces which have wrought in it, of the facts which the chronicle and the simple narrative offer, in their relation to great, underlying, human causes and principles. Then history becomes a living thing and its study an inspiration to writer and student.

Such study of history in a scientific and a philosophic spirit and method has this period of diffusion offered to the generations of the English-speaking world in this latter part of the nineteenth century, to say nothing of the wonderful development of this great work in many noble minds of France and of Germany. In this distinctively philosophic vein have worked such writers as Hallam and May and Stubbs in discussing the growth of the English Constitution; Buckle and Lecky in the study of the great movements of historic civilization; Stanley in treating of the Eastern and Jewish churches, to name only a few notable examples. So, also, history in the common acceptance of the term has been volmuinously written with more than wonted insight into the connection of events, and more than wonted wisdom in their selection. Kings and conquerors have ceased to occupy the entire historic stage, and the condition, customs, and opinions of the masses of men claim their share of attention. The list of historical writers has never been larger or indicated better perception or more power, either here or in England, than during the forty

or fifty years which have just passed away. Macaulay, in impassioned eloquence, has made his special plea for the founders of the great Whig party which governed England, wisely, on the whole, for half a century after the revolution of 1689. Greece and Rome and the life of their people have been brought to us as realities by the fascinating pages of Grote, and Arnold, and Merrivale. Babylon, and Nineveh, and Alexandria have been restored by the labors of Rawlinson and Wilkinson. Milman and Froude, Kinglake and Freeman have aroused a world's attention and criticism, antagonism and applause.

Nor has our own country been wanting in great names to add to the list of modern, scientific, philosophical writers of history. A Bancroft, with somewhat ponderous tread, has led the way for the historians of the United States. A Prescott has proved that a work upon a purely historical subject may be made, as we so often say, more interesting than any novel. A Motley has fired our hearts in generous sympathy with a courageous people struggling successfully against bigotry and tyranny. A Parkman has opened to us the secret of the red man of the forest and unfolded the thrilling drama of the Fall of New France. A Fiske has given us the culmination of a quarter of a century of philosophical study in his unsurpassed story of the Discovery of America. And these constitute but leading figures in the laborious group. The list of worthy names among Ameri-

can writers of history grows at once too long to be repeated. With such methods as the modern historian uses, no history need any longer be dull and dry, as almost all history used to seem to us in our young days.

Especially has the history of the United States benefited by the increased interest in general historical study awakened and developed during the last twenty-five years. Writers have entered upon the study of cause and effect in this field of inquiry with remarkable success. They have begun to unfold for us the daily life of our colonial and early national existence. They have made us see the great variety of the material which makes up our national structure, and have proved how susceptible such material is of decorative and picturesque treatment. Many familiar events have received new significance and force and have been shown to be important links in a never-ending chain of causal relations. One who heard John Fiske, for example, a few days ago, set forth so clearly some of the motives of the English government in urging the taxation of the colonies, must have been struck by the emphasis which he laid upon the fact that George III was fighting, not only for the application of a principle in colonial policy, but for the same principle in the English boroughs; that the war-cry, "Taxation without representation is tyranny," was the motto of Parliamentary Reform which he hated, as well as of Colonial Independence which he denied.

And yet many of us, perhaps all of us, can recollect how the history-books of our boyhood treated the subject. That there was any connection between measures for the government of the colonies and the opposition of the king to the growing sentiment in favor of Parliamentary Reform was never thought of by the text-book maker or the village school-master. This is but one illustration among many to show how much fuller of meaning all historical work, even the most elementary, is nowadays than it was fifteen, or twenty, or thirty years ago.

In yet another way has this new impulse to historical study shown itself. New and increasing interest in the general history of this country has been followed quite naturally by fruitful researches in state and county and town history. Local records have been re-examined, village traditions have been traced to their source, family letters have been reread and edited. Citizens who have played some part in the life of their own communities, or, perchance, in the wider life of the nation, who have fought in the armies of the blue or the gray, have been inspired to tell the story of their share in public events, or in the simpler and semi-private life of the town or village.

Local societies have sprung up to encourage the study of local history, to preserve the remains of earlier civilizations if any such exist in their neighborhood, to afford a place of deposit, not only for tangible objects like skulls and water-bottles, but

for the legends and traditions and memories of the locality, to offer the opportunity to all lovers of historical study in general, or of local annals in particular, of a place of meeting for the interchange and criticism of one another's views. In New England and New York such societies have had a flourishing existence for several generations. A few in the West date back fifty years; the most of those in this part of the country belong to the post-bellum period. The Wisconsin Society at Madison, the Minnesota Society at St. Paul, and the Louisiana Society at New Orleans are notable examples among many flourishing and useful organizations whose chief work has been accomplished during the past twenty-five years. About ten years ago the American Historical Association was organized, and its yearly meetings held at the city of Washington have done much through papers and discussion to stimulate these local societies and the local historians.

Actuated by a desire to do their part in such a useful work, nearly thirty years ago a number of well-known citizens of St. Louis formed themselves into an association to be known as the MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, "to encourage historical research and enquiry, spread historical information, especially within the State of Missouri, and also within the entire Mississippi Valley, and to embrace alike aboriginal and modern history." They declared in their Consti-

tution that the particular objects of this Society shall be: —

First, The establishment of a library of books and publications appropriate to such an institution, with convenient works of reference, and also a cabinet of antiquities, relics, etc.;

Second, The collection into a safe and permanent depository of manuscripts, documents, papers and tracts, possessing a historical value and worthy of preservation;

Third, To encourage investigation of aboriginal remains, and more particularly to provide for the complete and scientific exploration and survey of such aboriginal monuments as exist within the limits of this State and the Mississippi Valley;

Fourth, To collect and preserve, in particular, such historical materials as shall serve to illustrate the settlement and growth of the City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, and the Mississippi Valley.

It is worth your while to listen to the names of honored citizens of a past generation, nearly all of whom have now gone to their reward, which appear in the certificate of incorporation, granted Feb. 7, 1872, about six years after the formation of the Society.

These names are as follows:—

James H. Lucas,
Elihu H. Shepard,
William G. Eliot,
Silas Bent,
Albert Todd,
Charles P. Chouteau,
Wilson Primm,
Henry Shaw,
Nathan Ranney,
John Knapp,
James B. Eads,
William A. Lynch,
John F. Darby,
Isaiah Forbes,
Green Erskine,
James G. Barry,
Joseph M. P. Nolan,
William H. H. Russell,
George Knapp,
Richard Dowling,
John B. Johnson,
Edward Brooks.

Of these Mr. Chouteau, Mr. Russell and Dr. Johnson are, I think, the only survivors, such havoc has death made in the short period of twenty-two years. These were the men of weight in St. Louis in their day and generation. They stood for all that was best in business life and in the learned and scientific professions. They were

"Leaders of the people by their counsels, and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions.

"All these were honored in their generations, and were the glory of their times.

"Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth forevermore."

At the first business meeting for permanent organization officers were elected as follows:—

President, James H. Lucas;
First Vice-President, William G. Eliot;
Second Vice-President, Wilson Primm;
Corresponding Secretary, William H. Cozzens;
Recording Secretary, Elihu H. Shepard;
Treasurer, John F. Darby.

Much good work was done by these men and the company that gathered about them. A respectable library was slowly gathered. Relics of the St. Louis of ante-bellum days — now a mere memory in the life of the New St. Louis — were brought together. Portraits of persons identified with the early history of the city were procured. Prehistoric remains of great interest were purchased and contributed. Papers of value were

read by members, notably several concerning the early history of Louisiana by the late Bishop Robertson, an enthusiastic and industrious historical student, whose library upon American History was presented after his untimely death to our Society by the late Henry Shaw. But the lack of a home for the Society and a place for displaying and using its rapidly accumulating collections was a serious drawback to its prosperity. Its meetings were held for many years in a room in the Polytechnic Building on the corner of Seventh and Chestnut streets, and afterwards in the Directors' room of Washington University. Its books and pictures and archaeological treasures were kept for several years in a basement room in the Court House, inaccessible and falling into decay. Meantime attempts were made to secure a permanent abode for the Society. In 1872 Mr. Lucas gave to the Academy of Science and the Historical Society a lot of ground on Locust street near Thirteenth. It was hoped that funds could be raised by the two organizations and a building erected, and several efforts were made by both societies to get money for this purpose. These attempts failed, however, and in 1888 the lot was sold and the proceeds divided between the joint owners. Some time before this, however, through the aid of a public-spirited member of the Society, Col. George E. Leighton, the present property was acquired and the collections removed and put in order. New life seemed to have been infused

into the Association and our hopes were high for the future. Then followed after a while a season of neglect, for which all of us who were then on the roll of members and who failed in our duty, should blame ourselves. I do blame myself for becoming a permanent member of the Society many years ago, and failing to do my small part toward preserving its active and useful life.

Within a few months an attempt has been made to put this old association upon its feet once more and to see if it cannot grow and strengthen and make use of the many opportunities all about us.

The Missouri Historical Society is to be congratulated to-day on what it now has of value, not only as available assets financially, but as material for study and instruction in its own field of work. We have, in the first place, a roomy, commodious, well-lighted and conveniently situated building, which is our own property, not entirely free from incumbrance, but worth to-day in the market many thousand dollars above any obligation resting upon it. It is clean and sweet from basement to attic, tastefully papered and painted and arranged very suitably for our purposes. Our library, although not a large one, has in it many rare and choice volumes concerning local and other American history. It is now arranged and accurately catalogued and ready for reference use. We have an archaeological collection unsurpassed, if, indeed, it is equaled in this, or any other

country in the special line which it represents; a collection which has a money value to-day of not less than twenty thousand dollars, and which will doubtless be much increased in the near future by gift and exploration. To any student of local history our portraits must be of great interest. The men who made St. Louis, who laid the foundations of her greatness, look down upon us from our walls. Here we may see the faces of Chouteau and Benton, of Engelmann and Eads, of Lucas and Turner, of Kemper and Robertson, of Beverly and Gerard B. Allen, of Bent and Todd, and of many others whose names are as household words in this city.

In still another way our building is being made useful; as a center to which may come kindred societies; as affording convenient and pleasant rooms to such organizations as are in their own particular field working in full sympathy with our general aims and purposes. The idea of Mr. Lucas when he gave the land on Locust street that the Academy of Science and the Historical Society should unite in the occupancy of a building, has been in a measure realized here; for the Academy has the use of our Assembly Room for its meetings and ample space on our third floor for its valuable library. The Engineers Club, also, makes our building its headquarters for meeting, conference and library purposes. A German Medical Society, too, makes its home here. The amount received from these societies as rent makes our own burden

easier to carry, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that we are instrumental in bringing together in sympathetic union men and associations of kindred tastes and purposes. Other societies will doubtless be glad to avail themselves of such comfort and convenience as we can offer, and thus many common interests may be served.

As members of the Missouri Historical Society we have several distinct duties before us:—

To do all in our power to increase our membership, not only that we may thus add to our revenue and our ability to make our building attractive, but that we may also widen the interest in the primary aims of the Society;

To show our own interest by attendance at the stated meetings of the Society and by visiting and studying our collections;

To urge our friends and acquaintances to come and see us and to take every fitting opportunity to suggest gifts or loans of historical relics of local interest;

To hold ourselves in readiness to contribute papers, personal reminiscences, traditions, anything which can be of value to our Society and add to the interest of our meetings.

In St. Louis, the old French town, the border city, the early battle-ground in the first months of civil strife, the southwestern capital, there must be still many things not yet brought to the light of publicity which are of great value to our local history. In the broader field of our State are yet

to be gathered historical treasures from the memories of living men as well as from the relics of the dead yet undisturbed in their ancient graves. In the great valley in which we are placed is a still larger opportunity in which this Society ought to have an important share.

And now, gentlemen, in conclusion, let me thank you most sincerely for the honor you have done me in choosing me to occupy the chair which has been so ably filled by many honored predecessors. Working with you and through you, aided continually by your counsel and advice, I shall endeavor to do my part to make the immediate future of the Missouri Historical Society worthy of its name, its founders and its friends. The work before us is worth doing, as that which has already been done was worth the labor it cost. Let us undertake this work and do it.

MUSEUM.

The collections belonging to the Museum are now well displayed in 37 handsome cases containing about 15,000 objects, fully representing the arts, customs and remains of the Aborigines of this locality. Several thousand specimens are not on exhibition for want of cases. For what it purports to be, a purely local collection, this is said to be the best to be found anywhere. At the Columbian Exposition in 1893, where it formed the Missouri State Archaeological Exhibit, it received marked attention from savants of our own country and from abroad, and was given several awards of merit by the committees.

A very important addition to this department is the recent gift of Mr. George W. Allen, who has donated his entire collection of Mound Builders pottery ware, including some 200 specimens of the various forms of bottles, vases, urns, dishes, bowls, animal, bird and fish forms, and human figures. The vessels were all obtained from ancient graves in mounds in Southeast Missouri, and fully represent the ceramic art of the primitive inhabitants of our country and especially of that particular region.

PORTRAIT GALLERY.

The already large and precious collection of portraits in oil of prominent citizens of the city and state is constantly increasing. Several have been added since January 1, 1894.

Mr. Edward C. Dameron, in behalf of his sister, has presented a very fine portrait of the late Peter Lindell.

For an excellent likeness of the late John Byrne, Jr., painted in Rome, we are indebted to Dr. F. L. Haydel.

Mr. Paul Beckwith has presented a painting of his uncle, Julius Paul, son of Col. Réné Paul, one of the early settlers in Saint Louis.

To Mrs. John P. Boyce we are indebted for an excellent likeness of Dr. Montrose Pallen, who was a practicing physician in this city for 37 years.

Unmounted photographs for the albums of the Society have been presented by A. de Zelanoy of Russia, Reihn Hornell of Sweden, and Messrs. Lichtenfeldt, Engel, and Filley of Germany.

These gentlemen represented their respective governments at the Columbian Exposition.

LIBRARY.

Since January 1, 1894, the accessions to our Library have been, — 113 volumes, 71 pamphlets, and 22 charts. The Library now contains about 4,100 volumes.

Besides the gifts already mentioned, contributions for the Museum and Library have been received from the following persons since January 1:—

M. Dwight Collier, Charles R. Green, Edwin Harrison, Dr. William Dickinson, Gerard Fowke, Capt. Carl F. Palfrey, Warren K. Moorehead, William J. Seever, the family of the late Bishop Robertson, Arata Hamao of Japan, Miss Wilcox, Gen. J. A. Hardeman, S. Waterhouse.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

NAME.

This Society shall be known as the MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II.

OBJECTS.

The general object of this Society shall be to encourage historical research and inquiry, and to disseminate historical information, especially within the State of Missouri, and also within the entire Mississippi Valley.

The particular objects of this Society shall be: *First*, The establishment of a library of books and publications appropriate to such an institution, with convenient works of reference, and also a cabinet of antiquities, relics, etc.; *Second*, The collection into a safe and permanent depository of manuscripts, documents, papers and tracts, possessing a historical value and worthy of preservation; *Third*, To encourage investigation of prehistoric remains, and more particularly to provide for the complete and scientific exploration and survey of such prehistoric monuments as exist within the limits of this State and the Mississippi Valley; *Fourth*, To collect and preserve in particular, such historical materials as shall serve to illustrate the settlement and growth of the City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, and the Mississippi Valley.

ARTICLE III.

OFFICERS.

The regular officers of this Society shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Librarian, who shall be Curator.

All the above-named officers shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Society, and shall hold their respective offices for one year and until their successors shall be duly elected and qualified.

Vacancies occurring from any cause in any of the regular offices of this Society shall be filled by ballot at any regular meeting, notice of such election having been given by the Secretary in calling the meeting at which such election shall take place.

ARTICLE IV.

MEMBERSHIP.

The membership of this Society shall be composed of four classes, viz.: Active, Life, Corresponding and Honorary.

Any person of good moral character, may become an active member of this Society upon such conditions as may be prescribed in the By-Laws.

Any person elected to be an active member, may, by the contribution of the sum of fifty dollars to the treasury of the Society, become a life member, with all the privileges of an active member, and thenceforth shall be exempt from all annual charges.

Corresponding and Honorary members may be admitted to this Society upon such conditions as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws.

ARTICLE V.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

There shall be an Advisory Committee, composed of the President and five active members appointed by him at the annual meeting of the Society.

They shall exercise general supervision over the museum, rooms and building of the Society; they shall authorize the disbursement and expenditure of all money belonging to the Society, and no expenditure shall be made or ordered except upon their approval.

They shall also act as a Committee on Donations, with power to accept or reject proposed gifts of books, pictures, or any material for the collections of the Society.

They shall supervise the printing and distribution of all publications issued by the Society, and nothing shall be published without their approval.

They shall consider all applications for membership, and offer such names for election as shall have been approved by them.

ARTICLE VI.

AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution may be amended by the vote of two-thirds of the members present at any regular meeting, *provided* that ten members shall be present; and *provided further*, that any proposed amendment shall have been submitted at the last meeting previous to that at which the vote shall be taken.

BY-LAWS.

I.

PRESIDENT.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and perform such other duties as usually devolve on that officer.

II.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

The Vice-Presidents, in the order of their election, shall, in the absence of the President, or in case of his death, resignation, or inability to act, perform his duties.

III.

SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall keep a record of all the meetings of the Society, which record shall be duly signed and certified by him and read at the opening of the succeeding meeting for information and revision. He shall have charge of the seal, charter, certificates, and records of the Society. He shall also duly notify the active members of all meetings, and all new members of their election.

All written communications relating to the Society and its work which may be received by him shall be duly preserved and deposited with the collections of the Society, and a report of the same shall be made by him at its next meeting.

He shall also act as Secretary of the Advisory Committee.

Society that may come into his hands, and of all receipts and expenditures connected with the same, and shall present a full and accurate report thereof to the Society at their annual meeting. His accounts shall always be open to the inspection of the Advisory Committee.

VI.

MEETINGS.

The regular meetings of this Society shall be held on the second Thursday of each month, from November to April inclusive, and the December meeting shall be the annual meeting.

Special meetings may be called by the President, or, in case of his absence, by one of the Vice-Presidents, for the dispatch of extraordinary business, of which seasonable notice, in writing, shall be given to all the active members.

VII.

QUORUM.

Five active members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting, except at the annual meeting for the election of officers, when the required number shall be ten active members.

VIII.

ADMISSION OF MEMBERS.

Any person recommended by the Advisory Committee may become an active member of the Society upon the approval by ballot of a majority of the members present at any regular or special meeting.

Corresponding members, not residents of the State of Missouri, and Honorary members may be elected upon the same conditions as active members. Such members shall have the right to attend any of the meetings of the Society, and to participate in any scientific or historical discus-

sions, but they shall not vote nor hold any office, and they shall be exempt from all dues or assessments.

IX.

DUES.

The annual assessment payable by every active member, not a life-member, shall be five dollars.

Any active member who shall fail to pay the regular assessment before the annual meeting next succeeding shall forfeit his membership, if it be so determined by the Advisory Committee, to whom all such cases of delinquency shall be referred.

X.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Reading of Minutes.
2. Reports.
3. Donations and Correspondence.
4. Elections.
5. Unfinished Business.
6. Miscellaneous Business.

XI.

AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS.

These By-Laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any meeting of the Society; *provided* notice of such proposed amendment shall have been sent to every active member at least three days before such meeting.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

(Those marked with an asterisk are Life-Members.)

Alden, John T.
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Carpenter, George O., Jr.
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*Chapman, J. G.
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*Delafield, Wallace.
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Erskine, Frank.

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Missouri Historical Society.

1896.

Missouri Historical Society.

No. 12.

1. Newspapers and Newspaper People of Three Decades.

BY WM. HYDE.

2. Territorial Revenue System of Missouri.

BY FREDERICK C. HICKS.

LIST OF MEMBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS.

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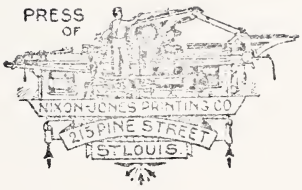
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Missouri Historical Society.

FOUNDED 1866.

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NEWSPAPERS AND NEWSPAPER PEOPLE OF THREE DECADES.

BY WILLIAM HYDE.

(Read before the Society, January 9th, 1896.)

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

By a kind suggestion of the President of this Society, my theme is: "St. Louis Newspapers and Newspaper People of Three Decades." Of course at my age I do not pretend to have a personal knowledge of the earliest newspaper times. There were fifty years of such history ahead of me, whilst there have been thirty-seven on this side, during twenty-eight of which, however (from 1857 to 1885), I was in the harness continuously.

Few persons at the first adopt journalism as a profession, but drift into it, as it were. They may, in their callow youth, write verses, or contribute an account of some celebration, or political meeting, to the county paper, or write up an event for a neighboring metropolitan journal. Flattered by the appearance of their effusions in print, they feel an ambition to become regular contributors, and it is from the ranks of these the juniors of the city press are, to a considerable extent, recruited. The country printing offices have been another source of supply, practical experience at the case, in proof-reading and in hustling for news items, being of much value in the editorial room. Of late years, though, with the introduction of "patent insides," *auxiliary* sheets and ready-made plates, together with the advent of the "Mergenthaler" machines, the printer of old has fallen upon hard lines. His lot, indeed, was never an altogether enviable one.

It is now chiefly in the job-offices where, as Walt Whitman says: —

"The jour printer, with gray head and gaunt jaws, works at his case
Turning his quid of tobacco, while his eyes blur with the manuscript."

But, although many young men glide into newspaper work as a temporary expedient, or stepping-stone, there certainly is a charm about it that makes them linger, and finally takes a firm hold upon their lives. It acquaints its votaries with public affairs and gives a knowledge of men not to be obtained so thoroughly in any other pursuit. It carries with it — diligent, conscientious newspaper work does — a certain sense of potentiality that is quite agreeable to personal pride. Although poorly remunerated, as a general thing, it affords to industrious, talented news-gatherers and competent writers a fair maintenance, and places them on a respectable and honorable plane. It may be some are unworthy, but probably in numbers they are not out of proportion to men otherwise engaged.

We sometimes hear suggestions about schools of journalism, as though newspaper making could be brought under rules like, for instance, the culinary art. Mrs. Glass's receipt for rabbit pie began with, "First catch your rabbit," and so it may be said in regard to journalism; first find your journalist.

Granted that newspaper men, unlike orators and poets, are made, not born, still they are creatures of evolution, and, like a modern edifice, show strange variations from the architect's plans and specifications. Quite as much as in any other calling the journalist is the child of opportunity. Nothing truer than

"There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

In what is now to be said, a large part will be of personal recollections, though, I trust, devoid of egotism or self-laudation. I was just out of my teens, though with some country newspaper experience, when I succeeded to the posi-

tion of local reporter that had been held by Kirk Anderson on the *Republican*. Kirk was the town wit, and there are scores of St. Louisans who remember him also as the premium unhandsome man of these parts. It was said of Kirk that he never looked at a clock without its throwing up both hands and stopping short. At that time the editorial force of the paper consisted of Nathaniel Paschall, editor; William Homes, associate editor; Wm. H. McHenry, commercial; Thos. E. Garrett, river, and the one local reporter. Judge William S. Allen wrote a financial review three times a week, with an occasional editorial, and Christian Kribben furnished, when he chose to do so, free translations of leading articles in the German dailies. That was the extent of the editorial force of the oldest newspaper west of the Mississippi river. And the largest. In its folio form the *Republican* was called the "blanket sheet," and to say nothing of its other merits was, on account of its immense size, considered the best for making kites and dress patterns.

Mr. Paschall had had what may be styled only a newspaper education and equipment, graduating from the printer's case, and imbibing the great fund of information contained in what went upon his galleys or columns of type. But he was a thinker. When he wrote he knew before he began what he was going to write about — a trait not always dominant in modern writers — and wrote it in as few and terse words as possible. And it always turned out that he had written something sensible, practical and pointed. In personal demeanor as gentle as a girl, in courage he was brave as a lion. Anybody could know where he stood on any question. "Age could not wither nor custom stale" his honest convictions. I recall about the first conspicuous fact that I became acquainted with in regard to Mr. Paschall's character. It was that he was anything but an admirer of Thomas H. Benton. In reporting Benton's funeral, which was in April, 1858, my manuscript started out with some grandiloquent phrase beginning: "When an illustrious man dies," etc. The adjective was too fulsome to suit Mr. Paschall, so he substituted the word *prominent*, and let it go at that. He was

willing to grant that the Missouri ex-Senator of "six lustrums" was perhaps entitled to a favorable funeral notice, on the principle of saying nothing but good of the dead, but sublimity, grandeur or splendor of character was rather beyond what he cared to concede. Yet if not superlatively friendly to Benton, some of Mr. Paschall's reasons therefor certainly seemed cogent. The two had frequently measured intellectual swords, and Benton always managed to put a great deal of venom in his thrusts.

Mr. Paschall had an able coadjutor, though not as a writer, in George Knapp. Their association in the *Republican* office was long, intimate and cordial, each having the utmost faith and confidence in the other. George Knapp entered the establishment as an apprentice when he was less than twelve years old. By steady and intelligent service he advanced from one position to a higher, until before he was 21 he was a partner in the business. Through his generosity Mr. Paschall's and also John Knapp's, pecuniary holdings were obtained. Besides taking a lively interest in national, State and local government (he was the originator of our present municipal Scheme and Charter) he concerned himself with various enterprises of "great pith and moment," such as the building of the Southern Hotel, the Eads Bridge, the Merchants' Exchange, etc., in addition to liberal contributions to the early railroad projects leading to the extension of the trade of St. Louis. It gives me delight to avail of this occasion to salute the memory of Nathaniel Paschall and George Knapp!

Wm. S. Allen, the "Judge" I have referred to, was a good-hearted old gentleman, exceedingly unpretentious. He was almost a monomaniac, however, on the subject of dogs. It was not necessary for him to see one or hear one bark, but only to mention a dog, to set him in a fury. If Paschall had let him, he would have filled the paper with editorials, squibs, and clippings relating to that subject. He would have advocated a prohibitory tariff with the highest known revenue tax on dogs, and have had the number of dog-catchers quadrupled. He actually gloated over reported cases of hydrophobia,

pooh-poohed the idea of canine fidelity, and wanted all species of the animal, Tray, Blanche and Sweetheart, carted off instanter to the pound. At last it leaked out that the Judge, visiting the composing room one evening, just before the gas was turned on, had been assaulted by a terrier named "Bill," which "habited" in those quarters. Bill made a rush at Judge Allen, backed him into the coal-box and finally chased him down two flights of stairs, after having torn off his coat-tails and mashed in his stovepipe hat.

Among the editorial writers on the *Republican* between 1860 and 1885 may be mentioned Mr. Thomas Dimmock, a master of rhetoric, a scholar, and in American biography and social topics a most acceptable contributor; Mr. Henry Reed, formerly of the Cincinnati *Press;* Mr. Richard H. Sylvester, late of the Washington *Post*, in whose service he died recently; Mr. Samuel Williams, formerly of Louisville, now or lately of the *Post-Dispatch;* Mr. Wm. H. Swift, of local political fame; Mr. D. H. MacAdam; Mr. J. H. R. Cundiff; Mr. Jas. Monaghan; Mr. Clarence N. Howell; besides many others, more or less conspicuous, as Messrs. Dill, Fayel, O'Neil, Kelso, Byers, Waterloo, Walbridge, Geo. Brown, Fanning, etc. These have all made signal tracings on the "map of busy life, its fluctuations and its vast concerns."

My intimate connection for so long a period with the *Republican* in various positions, made me of course more familiar with the individuality of the *Republican* corps than with that of the other papers, of which the present mention must necessarily be somewhat defective.

The *Missouri Democrat* always had a notable personality. When I first knew it Gratz Brown, afterwards Gov. Brown, was editor; Peter L. Foy was an editorial writer: George Fishback was commercial editor: Ralph Ryland, river reporter, and the local news-gatherer is now the distinguished and able editor of the *Globe-Democrat*, Mr. McCullagh, who, if not perched on the very topmost round of the American

journalistic ladder, is so near to it that the intervening space is scarcely perceptible at this distance. My friend Dan Houser was at that time earning about $40 a month feeling the pulse of its circulation. Mr. McKee was the man who had to skin around and rake up the money to pay off hands, but it can be said this did not interfere with his duty as a city alderman, which position he filled most acceptably. Foy, who had been an editor in Southeast Missouri, and one of the earliest emancipationists, was, in his first newspaper experience, rather sophomoric as a writer, but soon got over this and settled down to blacksmith English, with anvil and sledge hammer. To him were attributed many of the able emancipation editorials which appeared in the *Democrat*. He was devoted to Benton, and was his faithful chronicler on the celebrated gubernatorial canvass of '56. Naturally he fell into intimate association with the Blairs, and on Lincoln's accession to the presidency became postmaster of St. Louis. It was during this administration that the present letter-carrier system was inaugurated in the larger cities of the United States.

Since 1860 the *Democrat* and the *Globe-Democrat* have had as editors Mr. John F. Hume, now a New York broker; Mr. Chas. Davis; Mr. Wm. M. Grosvenor, now an editorial writer on the *N. Y. Tribune* (or perhaps it is the *Evening Post*), Mr. Geo. W. Fishback, now Secretary of the Mullanphy Board; and Mr. Jos. Burbridge McCullagh, who was editor of the *Democrat* before the union with the *Globe* in 1875, three years after the latter was started, but was editor of the *Globe* at the time the consolidation occurred. Mr. McCullagh was a long time connected with Cincinnati papers as Washington correspondent and war correspondent, was editor of a newspaper in Chicago at the time of the great fire, after being managing editor of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, and finally drifted back to the city where he began his brilliant newspaper career. It has been frequently said that Mr. McCullagh, though editor of a Republican paper, is at heart a Democrat. His having been born in Dublin may have favored this story, but of course everybody who reads his

"great religious daily" must think he has a queer way of showing it, if he is a Democrat. The story rests simply on the circumstance of his having been managing editor of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*.

There is a popular idea that the managing editor is a man who manages the editorials, the fact being that, as a general thing, the editorials are about the only contents of the paper that he does not manage. The managing editor may order the special telegrams, employ the reporters, instruct the foreman of the composition-room what matter may or may not be left over, but he takes no liberties with the leaders. It is not his business as managing editor to have views on politics. Sometimes, indeed, the managing editorship is combined with the editorship-in-chief, but in such case this factotum does little writing himself, except by dictation or suggestion.

A similar popular delusion exists in reference to the night editor, which designation nine times in ten means the editor of the telegraph copy — the man who writes the scare headlines, or who classifies the news. So that when a great event occurs in the evening, and it is made the text of elaborate comment in the morning paper, it must not be assumed that the same was written by the man who puts the captions over the dispatches.

A promising journal, now almost forgotten, was the St. Louis *Leader*, which was the original great religious daily of this city. It was established in 1855 as an organ of the Catholic Church, with Democratic proclivities, by Dr. J. V. Huntington, who had been editor of the Baltimore *Metropolitan Magazine*. The Sunday edition, began in 1857, was under the charge of Donald McLeod, who was educated for the priesthood, but had chosen literature in preference to the pulpit. McLeod formed a scandalous alliance with a noted St. Louis beauty, and the affair reaching the public ear he repented and went into a monastery at Cincinnati. The party of the second part took the veil, but a few

years after left the convent and married a well-known member of the burnt-cork profession. Huntington in 1858 descended from the tripod of the *Leader* and was succeeded by Edward W. Johnston, Wm. A. Seay being political editor. Johnston was a man of fine literary attainments, devoting inordinate attention to that field, and *therefore*, as I may say, ran the paper into the ground in about two months, in accordance with what seems to be a general law which disassociates successful newspaper enterprise from bookishness and erudite philosophy. Mr. Johnston, however, found a suitable sphere for his talents as librarian of the Mercantile Library, his catalogue of that notable institution being a work of conspicuous ability.

The *Intelligencer* was another morning paper, which lasted but a few years. It was started largely to afford George K. Budd a medium in which to discuss financial and commercial topics, the political features being left to J. B. Crockett, who was successively followed by E. A. Lewis, afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court and Court of Appeals, and by A. S. Mitchell, who had previously edited a paper in Tennessee. An offshoot of this publication was the *Evening News*, of which Chas. G. Ramsey was proprietor and into which the *Intelligencer* finally merged. Mitchell was a bright writer, but his pen was corroded with caustic. He was fond of what may be called guerrilla warfare, but the shots he fired had a keen, sharp crack, as though his ammunition had been rammed down hard.

Of a different and more kindly nature was Dan'l M. Grissom. This gentleman, who now rusticates in Kirkwood, has done more all-round work than any other man who ever wielded the pen in St. Louis. After he discontinued his connection with the *News* he was a long time with the *Republican* as an editorial writer, and it is not too much to say that the reputation the *Republican* enjoyed many years ago, as a sturdy, well-balanced national political journal was con-

tributed to most largely by this accomplished, versatile gentleman.

The *News*, after Mr. Grissom left it, fell into "innocuous desuetude," and Ramsey, poor fellow, became a charge upon his personal friends, his last employment being that of a watchman at the Custom House.

The necrology of newspapers since the last war, and particularly near the beginning of it, presents a mournful warning to adventurers in that field. Too long is the column to be recited here, but mention may be made of the *Herald*, the *Bulletin*, the *Eagle*, the *Journal*, the *Star* and the *Times*, as perhaps the most pretentious.

Phil. Ferguson, better known as "Jenks," was the leading spirit of the *Herald*. He was a humorous writer and addicted to poetry of a local sensational character. One of his effusions entitled "Rosetta de Bennetta," founded on a piece of domestic gossip, got him into serious trouble; but that is perhaps the only incident of his journalistic career that suggests a regret.

I cannot enter the field of St. Louis German journalism with any pretense of chronological accuracy. The columns of our German dailies have teemed with the richest thoughts of minds like Gustavus Koerner, William Palm, Frederick Muench, George Engelman, Theodore Hilgard, all outside of the editorial staff; but those were not the days of the greatest financial prosperity of the organs to which they contributed. Of the German newspapers flourishing not quite forty years ago there were the *Anzeiger des Westens*, from which the aggressive Boernstein had lately separated, the *Westliche Post*, then a mere toddler, the *Tages Chronik*, and one or two others. Carl Daenzer was then, as now, a powerful leader of opinion. Dr. Wenzel and Dr. Hertel, though long since passed away, are recalled to memory as untiring workers.

Dr. Charles L. Bernays was likewise an editorial writer of ability and prominence. Later came Ernest Schierenberg. Another was Mr. Kargau, who is still living in this city, but has had to retire from active work on account of having entirely lost his sight. Still another was Julius Neudorff.

It was during the war that the good Dr. Emil Preetorius was evolved, and with him came that lottery ticket of journalism, Mr. Joseph Pulitzer, followed, in the spring of 1867, by the distinguished general, senator, cabinet officer, orator, publicist and "mugwump," Carl Schurz. Schurz occasionally wrote political articles for the *Post*, and they were always brilliant, judging from his English writings; but the public regarded him as a figurehead editorially In truth the daily commentaries on events and men were seen to chiefly by Preetorius, who enjoyed the reputation of being that kind of an editor whose judicious work was and is generally found among the sweepings, or in the waste basket.

It was during Mr. Schurz' connection with the *Westliche Post*, and whilst he was United States senator, that an alliance was formed between his paper and the *Missouri Democrat*, the latter represented by Wm. M. Grosvenor, whereby the Liberal Republican movement was set on its feet. As a result Gratz Brown was nominated by that faction for Governor, and elected over his Radical competitor, McClurg, the Democrats abstaining from putting a ticket in the field. The German press, or the Republican part of it, which was at that time nearly the whole, sustained the movement unanimously, and Gratz Brown was elected by over 40,000 majority. But lest by pursuing this incident the partisan switch may be run into, I may perhaps be excused for relating an anecdote entirely non-political, and wholly disconnected with anything in the foregoing:—

The *Tages Chronik* (Daily Chronicle) was located in the third story of the *Republican* office. Francis Saler was proprietor. The local editor was an obese and rather inactive

man named Meyer, who made a practice, instead of hustling around for news himself, of taking copy off the *Republican* foreman's hook, translating as much as he wanted of it, and returning the original. I tired of this and set a trap for the unsuspecting Mr. Meyer. With the aid of Mr. McHenry, there was prepared an elaborate account of the murder in her bed of a white woman by a colored man who had been living in the same dwelling, and of the suicide of the black fiend. The scene was located in the rear of a house on Pine street between Third and Fourth. The narrative, which was quite lengthy, was nothing more nor less than the story of the fate of Desdemona, some eminent actor, I forget which one, having played Othello the night before at DeBar's old theater. Meyer took the cork clear under, and if he had stuck to the text it would not have been a bad item; but of course, supposing it would appear in the *Republican*, he put in extraneous facts that spoiled the article as a travesty, and only made him laughed at the more.

Not a few of the German newspaper men of St. Louis have aspired to political office. Pulitzer has been a member of the Missouri Legislature and a New York member of Congress. Schurz was an unsuccessful candidate for Lieut.-Governor of Wisconsin before he came here, and was a citizen of this State but two years before he was Rodmanized into the United States Senate. Spaunhorst, who organized the *Amerika*, has been a State senator; and Congressman Barthoidt, who represents one of the St. Louis districts, is editor of *Die Tribune*. In early days it was a hard struggle for the German sheets to make both ends meet, and with the competition of recent years it is astonishing that any of them should have got rich. Perhaps 95 per cent. of their readers are familiar enough with the English to avail of our American dailies, which give infinitely more news, even from across the ocean. It may be proper for such patronage to be bestowed on account of the memories of Fatherland, but, disclaiming the slightest dispo-

sition to curtail the rights or enjoyments of our adopted citizens, I think at least the practice of our municipal bodies in paying out good money for the publication of their proceedings in a foreign language ought to be abolished.

One of the most successful evening papers is the *Chronicle*, now about fifteen years old, which was started by what is known as the Scripps League, the first managing editor being Stanley Waterloo. It has embraced in its staff such well-known newspaper men as W. V. Byars, W. H. Little, Gen. Hawkins, etc., and appears to have cut its bright way through a thick wall of discouraging environments. Mr. Waterloo went hence to Chicago, and has there distinguished himself as a book-writer. Mr. Byars was for several years employed on the *Republican*, and is now, I believe, writing editorials for the New York *World*. Mr. Little is at present assistant postmaster of St. Louis.

Among the newspaper people who worked in this city and became more or less known, mention may be made of Stilson Hutchins, Geo. Alfred Townsend, James Peckham, J. L. Tracy, Henry Ewing, Enrique Parmer, Geo. Mills, Chas. G. Gonter, Geo. Harker, W. S. Cuddy, Walter B. Stevens, Tobias Mitchell, A. B. Cunningham, John J. Jennings, Platt Lewis, George Gilson.

A man that flourished for a time on gall and cheek was L. U. Reavis, or Reavis, who had a paper called the *American Tribune*. He sprang into notoriety by plagiarizing a pamphlet advocating the city of Pittsburg as a suitable place for the national capital, and adapting it with little change, to the geographical and political situation of St. Louis. The agitation which this man managed to stir up was considered a good way of advertising our growing metropolis, and Reavis was encouraged to keep it up. He published, as written by him, a Life of Horace Greeley, the literary work of which was

performed by David H. MacAdam, by which Reavis made himself solid with the editor of the New York *Tribune*, who always had a leaning towards cranks. Reavis tried to make the *American Tribune* last as long as his own justly celebrated duster, but the duster outlived it.

A funny little chap was Jas. L. Fawcett of the *Herald*, the regulation secretary of Democratic mass meetings. He always carried a pocket full of letters from distinguished men, they being polite answers to some inquiry Jim had made for the purpose of establishing a personal correspondence. He would never read the contents of these letters, on account, he said, of their confidential character, and he would not betray secrets, you know, but he managed to flash the signatures when looking for some particular epistle that, as it turned out, he had unfortunately left in his desk. Fawcett was a pronounced Douglas man up till the attack on Fort Sumpter, and telegraphed the Little Giant to know what he thought of President Lincoln's call for troops. The senator replied: "I am for my country, and against all assailants." Fawcett's faith in his great prototype of statesmanship immediately flickered, but he nevertheless trotted around quite nimbly, exhibiting the telegram, with immense pride.

At one time Henry M. Stanley was attached to the St. Louis press, but he was at that period considered rather fond of relying on his fancy for his facts. He always made a full hand in dressing up any adventure he was called upon to chronicle, and his trip with the Harney-Henderson Peace Commission to the Indian country was a regular picnic for the exercise of his talents in that line. It is not the business of this essay to inquire whether everything discussed in "Darkest Africa" was actually seen by Stanley's own physical optics, for the adage says that truth is stranger than fiction, which is probably the only reason why the explorer would prefer it.

John N. Edwards, who wrote "Shelby and His Men,' drifted after the war to St. Louis, where he was connected with the press. He was noted for verbal pyrotechnics, his pen always sputtering with red fire. Edwards became known as the champion of ex-Confederate doers of daring deeds, the glamour of romance softening to his morbid vision all things that displayed heroism and bravery, he not stopping to consider whether or not they were unlawful. Thus the James and Younger bands of marauders found in him, if not a defender, at least an admirer of their adventurous spirit. At Kansas City and St. Joseph, which cities he found more congenial than St. Louis, he was said to be in direct communication with the outlaws, and he was finally instrumental in bringing Frank James to Missouri for trial. Yet, with all his vagaries, he was of gentle disposition, and no one ever brought to his doors even a suspicion of being personally "crooked." He was like a star that had shot from its sphere.

Before the last war, Lieut. Derby, "John Phoenix," was a not infrequent unattached contributor to the St. Louis press. He married in Carondelet, and often visited these parts from his post in the army. There was a local astronomer of the name of Hiram Goodrich who lived in "Vide Poche," and I remember a mock scientific article Derby wrote showing by minute calculations that the comet then approaching would certainly strike this planet and in the neighborhood of the River des Peres. Everybody saw the humor of the article but Goodrich, who in two or three solemn disquisitions completely exploded Derby's theory, at least to his own satisfaction. At any rate, the comet never came within a million miles of here.

Sam Clemens, whilst he was pilot on a Mississippi steamboat, wrote funny letters for the river column of one of our papers, adopting the pen name of "Mark Twain," by which he is now far more widely known then he was then.

Jacob L. Bowman, "Hans Patrick le Connor," a name

representing German, Irish, French and Scotch-English, was a St. Louis printer, and bade fair to rival the best American fun-makers, had he not gone prematurely to the grave.

Thomas M. Mason, whose sobriquet was "I. X. Peck," was another writer of funny sketches. He was a clerk in a Main street wholesale hosiery house. Had he lived in the present day of newspaper pictures he would have succeeded as an illustrator of his own writings, for he was a natural born artist and caricaturist. And by the way, speaking of picture makers, Joseph Keppler, who married a St. Louis girl, at one time published at Market and Second streets "Die Vaehme," a German comic paper, and forerunner of Puck.

Louis von Willich, who was buried here recently, for a long time wrote humorous things for the German papers, before establishing *Die Laterne* (The Lantern).

In old times original poetry was not so altogether despised by editors as it seems to be generally now. Up to a comparatively recent period it was the custom to offer a prize for the best Carriers' New Year Address, and this was competed for by the local poets, such as Edmund Stagg, Pierce C. Grace, Albert Todd, Alexander DeMenil, W. B. Baker, T. E. Garrett, Emma Alice Brown, Katherine Green, Martha S. Kayser, Annie Robertson Noxon, Laura C. Redden (Howard Glyndon), Fannie Isabell Sherrick, Bertha May Ivory and many others.

I recall a rather curious incident that occurred one year, when the committee, after a week's labor in sorting out and weighing the merits of the several competing poems for the New Year's Annual, brought the contest down to two, one of which had been furnished by Miss Emma Alice Brown. The reward was made to the other, sent in by a young man, who in a note desired the fifty-dollar premium, if he got it, forwarded to his address at a town in Illinois. The poem was a beauty, and much admired by the patrons of the paper that

issued it. The next day afterwards Miss Brown appeared on the scene with a printed copy of the same address, word for word, as published some years before by the Bloomington *Pantagraph*, with Emma Alice Brown's name in full on the title page. It was not too late to recall the fifty dollars, which was promptly handed over to the real author, who was second choice to herself.

But let us turn from these reminiscences, with their varying suggestions of success and failure. Whilst many an aspiring soul has been linked to iron fortune with reference to personal ambition in the journalistic profession, a million dollars is not a high estimate of the money that has been swallowed up in losing newspaper enterprises in St. Louis. To-day, however pressing may be the demand for more or different papers, it is realized that an immense capital would be required to start another, and in addition great business adaptability, with an exceptional editorial corps. No new candidate can obtain the Associated Press dispatches without the consent of not only a majority, but every member of the local association; so that the novitiate must depend entirely upon special telegrams for the news and market reports, or buy out one of the papers possessing the franchise. Hence, a "long, long purse," is an absolute necessity in launching a new daily in St. Louis.

The magnetic telegraph has come to furnish the greatest part of the pabulum of our journals, trash though much of it is. In the '50's towards the close of that decade, it was a rare thing outside of the market reports to find more than a thousand words of news per day. The matter went in as it came, without editing and without headlines, duplications and all. Improvement went on very rapidly, however, as more railroads were laid, new offices opened, the wires extended, and the facilities for transmission multiplied.

Consider, it was only half a century ago that the patentees of the Morse Magnetic Telegraph contracted for the building

of a line from the seaboard to Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. The work was completed to Illinoistown, now called East St. Louis, via New Albany, Ind., by the stage route running through Vincennes; but it was not till 1853 that there was a good direct communication. The poles were of black oak with the bark on, cut from the wilderness as the contractors moved along, and only 25 to the mile. It was not till 1856 that the movement of railroad trains was conducted by wire, which was on the Chicago and Alton Railroad. In December, 1844, the President's message, delivered on a Tuesday, reached Cincinnati by special messenger to the *Gazette* the following Friday, was put in type and copies dispatched to Louisville by steamboat, thence by coach express to St. Louis, the whole distance from Washington being covered in a little over six days. Two years later, the message of 1846 was received here in four days, being telegraphed to Vincennes, thence to St. Louis by pony express. The first serious undertaking to supply the press by telegraph was in the transmission of the long annual message of President Polk in December, 1848, which took two nights and one day. In these times the average daily supply of telegraph matter to the press is at least 35,000 words, and it is by no means unusual for a St. Louis paper to order a document, a speech or a report by wire that will fill a page or more. The copy is furnished typewritten by a score or more of telegraph operators in its own office, and after revision passed to the experts who manipulate the keys of the linotype composing machines. One of these experts, by the way, can set up 10,000 ems of type in an hour, where the old printer at his case was doing well to make a string of a thousand.

Equally marvelous have been the improvements in presses. Stereotyping, the rotary cylinder printing on both sides, the continuous roll, the folding, pasting and cutting apparatus, have wrought wonders. In 1858 the best Hoe press in St. Louis could turn out but 1,200 sheets an hour, printed on one side, but now 60,000 to 80,000 perfect papers are produced by one machine in the same length of time.

The first paper here was published a dozen years before

there was a State of Missouri, and whilst the people, almost on the Western confines of civilization, were living under territorial conditions. The national and commercial capitals of the country were far away, according to the prevailing modes of communication, when distance was measured by the length of a day's travel on horseback or slow coach, and when news from the world outside dribbled in like angels' visits. Congress had adjourned *sine die* when the President's message to it on assembling was received west of the Mississippi, and it required from August to Christmas to get the returns of the Presidential election in the East. A steamship of to-day might make six round trips from New York to Southhampton whilst the intelligence of her starting on the first could, in those days, reach St. Louis from New York. When the Missouri *Gazette* was issued it took a man and a boy half a day to work off one side of the edition, small as it was; and the whole outlay of type-setting and publication was $20 per week. Two hundred times that sum would hardly pay the mechanical expense alone of one of our morning journals.

The introduction of cuts and illustrations has been a marked feature of our later journalism. At first it was confined to mere outlines of persons or objects, but art has had such rapid development that whole pages of newspapers are taken up, though not always adorned, with pictures. It would seem that a legitimate field for this attraction would be likenesses — I mean *likenesses* — of individuals who occupy even temporarily the public thought, correct representations of places where important and interesting events have taken or are expected to take place, or anything else that is calculated to inform or entertain the reader without violating good taste. Not long ago a man who had invented a scheme for the identification of criminals sued a paper for heavy damages for having what purported to be his picture, but which could not be distinguished from a lot of burglars and horse thieves whose counterfeit presentiments were given in illustration of his system. Many of the cuts of our dis-

tinguished citizens have been horrible caricatures, as little alike as Hamlet's uncle to Hamlet's father. For one, I protest against the hawking around of newspaper pictures of young girls, buds of society in this and other localities. The practice is only in degree less obnoxious than the decollete cigarette cards or bock-beer-day proclamations. Again: Legitimate newspaper business ought not to require the doubtful aid of gift enterprises, which appear to have exhausted the ingenuity of circulation expanders in a variety of methods. Such projects should be beneath the dignity of high-class journals. When used to coax advertising, they are largely fraudulent, as the paper itself is generally the smallest consideration to the new subscriber.

Apropos, I agree with the Philadelphia *Times* that "the only journalism that can stand the test of time is that which maintains its own dignity by aiming to present the most attractive, entertaining, instructive and healthy newspaper to the reading public. Those who read a newspaper because it deserves to be read, will not only not be attracted to it by chromo-journalism, but the more intelligent class of newspaper readers logically assume that the public journals which descend to such clap-trap devices sacrifice the merits of journalism by catering to those who place no value upon legitimate newspapers. Journalism is the highest known profession in our free government, where newspapers enter nearly every home and are the great educators of the people, and it can command public respect only to the extent that it respects itself by claiming public patronage solely on its merits."

It is not the number only, but the character of the subscribers that most interests advertisers, who desire that their notices be read by people wanting their wares and who have the money to buy them. And it is worthy of consideration whether 1-cent dailies, if the reduction of the price to one cent entails corresponding restrictions in the quality of the contents, really means an advance. A prominent politician is credited with the statement that a cheap coat betokens a cheap man. It is somewhat difficult to believe that cheaper newspapers must imply better ones.

The newspapers of to-day are models of mechanical excellence, flashing with intelligence from every quarter. But who among us of the elder set does not often yearn for the conservative, respectable, staid old reliable newspapers of thirty or forty years years ago? In them there may not have been as much tattle about what people had on when they went to balls and parties, or airing of domestic linen, or dragging into sunlight the old bones of scandal, shame and defamation, nor of that low-neck-and-short-sleeve style of literature which adorns the society column. But one could generally find a leading article that showed diligent study of its subject, and that was calculated to enlighten and not mystify the reader. It is not meant to say that there are no such papers now, but they are exceptions. Newspapers exercised wide-spread and permanent influence because they expressed honest and candid opinions. They naturally led public sentiment and were admired and honored, instead of groping helplessly to follow the fleeting whims of the hour. As the elder Disraeli said about books, a good newspaper should "stand between the governors and the governed and form the single organ of both." The formation of the public mind is the work of men "at the top of their condition," not overworked, and who can give free play to independent thought, untrammeled by boycotters on the outside or counting-room considerations downstairs. It is, as Bulwer says, only beneath the rule of such that the pen is mightier than the sword.

TERRITORIAL REVENUE SYSTEM OF MISSOURI.

BY FREDERICK C. HICKS.

(Read before the Society March 12th, 1896.)

1. GOVERNMENT.

October 31st, 1803, power was conferred upon the President of the United States to take possession of the country ceded by France. The control of affairs was placed in the hands of appointees of the President "until the expiration of the [existing] session of Congress, unless provision for the temporary government of the said territories [was] sooner made by Congress." This was the beginning of American government in what afterwards became the State of Missouri.

The territorial history of Missouri covers a period of seventeen years, during which it passed through four phases of government. By the Act of 1804, which divided the Louisiana Purchase into two parts, the upper, called the District of Louisiana, was placed in charge of the Governor and Judges of Indiana Territory. General, afterwards President, W. H. Harrison, was then Governor, and Messrs. Griffin, Vanderberg, and Davis, Judges. Upon the protest of the people of the District they were organized, in 1805, into a territory of the first class and became the Territory, instead of the District, of Louisiana. The change resulted in giving the people their own governor and judges. Otherwise, the form of government remained the same.

After seven years' experience in the first class, the territory was advanced to the second class, and became the Territory of Missouri. This change involved the addition of a House of Representatives elected by the people of the territory, and a Council of nine members, appointed by the Federal Gov-

ernment from eighteen persons nominated by the territorial House of Representatives. In 1816, after four years in the second class, the territory advanced to the third and highest class. It was then entitled to an elective Council. This form of organization continued until 1820, when the people organized a State government preparatory to their admission into the Union in 1821.

2. NEEDS.

The population of the District of Louisiana in 1804, exclusive of Indians, was between six and ten thousand; in 1810, it had increased to about twenty-one thousand; and in 1820, to some over sixty-six thousand. (In 1890 it was 2,679,184.) Throughout the territorial period, the people were engaged largely in agricultural pursuits, with lead mining, after a primitive fashion, and trading as additional occupations. A description of the conditions in 1811, tells us that the prevailing method of exchange was barter, while peltry and lead were recognized as money.

The methods of business and the habits of life were of the simple character and on the limited scale that would be expected of a frontier people. It follows from the conditions of life in the newly organized territory that the needs of the state during this period were very limited. The functions of the government extended little further than the protection, in its narrowest sense, of life and property, the maintenance of highways, and such general duties as are inseparable from an organized society. There was little to suggest the modern complex industrial and social system that has resulted in an extension of the functions of the state to the maintenance of public schools, the regulation of railroad and express companies, the oversight of sanitary conditions, and, in general, to the protection of the public from the infringement of its social as well of its individual rights. The early limit of state activity was the result of existing conditions which required no more, rather than of any theory as to the proper bounds of government functions. Indeed, there is ample

evidences in the regulations concerning ferries and mill charges that what the community sought was a reasonable recognition of its welfare regardless of any question as to the invasion of the domain of individual freedom.

The financial operations were correspondingly limited and the financial history of this period is concerned only with the simpler phases of revenue and expenditure. Questions concerning public debt, public improvements, and the more serious phases of revenue and expenditure did not appear until later times.

3. PERSONAL SERVICES.

In supplying the needs of the state, recourse was had in part to personal services and in part to revenue. The two chief forms of personal service were military duty and the maintenance of roads. The territory was practically surrounded, except on the east, by hostile Indians, thus rendering a military force of some sort imperative. This force was provided by requiring all free, white male inhabitants, not incapacitated by age or otherwise and not exempted by law, to be enrolled in the militia. The service required of the militia was attendance upon musters and assistance in case of invasion. Until 1815, there were at least five regular musters annually, involving five or more days of military service. After 1815, the calls for muster were subject to the orders of the commanders of the several corps. The amount of actual service that could be required of each was unlimited, save by the necessities of the occasions. In 1807, a maximum of sixty days continuous service was fixed, which was later extended to six months. Those subject to military duty were required to provide their own arms and accoutrements, which were definitely specified in the several acts.

The construction and maintenance of roads was also accomplished largely by personal service, which was in this case required of all able-bodied male inhabitants within certain specified ages. Military service was required only of free, white inhabitants. The amount of road service that could be

required was fixed by the act of 1806 at from two to thirty days annually, to be assessed according to the amount of property owned. Though no provision was made for commuting road service for a money payment, the fines for nonperformance of this duty, from one to two dollars per day, made such commutation possible.

4. FIRST REVENUE LAW.

But personal services did not meet all the needs of the government. Accordingly we find among the earliest laws for governing the newly acquired territory provision for a revenue system. The first law was passed October 1st, 1804, and was entitled: "A law regulating county rates and levies." It provided that "all houses in town, town lots, out lots and mansion houses in the country" valued at two hundred dollars and upwards, "all able-bodied single men" not having "taxable property to the amount of four hundred dollars, all water and windmills, and ferries," all horses, mules and cattle, three years old and upwards, and "all bond servants and slaves, except such as the Court of Quarter Sessions [should] exempt for infirmities, between sixteen and forty years of age" should be chargeable for county revenue. Upon the houses, lots and mills was to be levied a tax not to exceed thirty cents on each $100 valuation. For most of the other objects mentioned a maximum specific tax was provided, *e. g.*, the tax on neat cattle was not to exceed ten cents per head.

The law contained also provisions for an annual charge of $15 for licenses to sell merchandise that was not produced in the district, and an annual charge of not to exceed $10 for ferry licenses. Two assessors were to be appointed for each township. The sheriff was authorized to perform the duties of collector and treasurer. Within the limits provided in the law, the rates actually collected were determined by the Court of Quarter Sessions. Indeed, this court seems to have had general charge of the administration of the affairs of the county. It appointed assessors; passed upon the lists of

taxable property; audited claims against the county; determined the necessary expenditures; and to it was answerable the sheriff as collector and treasurer. Subsequent legislation materially modified the provisions of this law. Other objects of taxation and license were added; rates were changed; the method of administration altered; but, in its general features it remained the basis of the financial system of the territorial period. The source of this law, as might be expected from its passage by the Governor and judges of Indiana Territory, is found in the laws of Indiana. The law as passed for the District of Louisiana is, with slight exceptions, an exact copy of a law that was enacted for Indiana Territory the previous year. (November 3d, 1803. Laws of Indiana, p. 63.)

The Indiana law, as stated in its title, was taken from the Virginia code and from the laws already in force in the Northwest Territory, of which Indiana Territory formed a part until July 4th, 1800. A comparison of the Indiana law of 1803, with a law of the Northwest Territory providing for county levies, passed in 1799, shows such striking resemblances as to warrant the conclusion that the Indiana law was derived principally from this law of the Northwest Territory. The law of 1799, providing for county levies in the Northwest Territory, introduced important changes into the financial system of the Territory. In that year, the Territory passed from the first to the second class. Previous to this, the revenue laws of the Northwest Territory had been based largely upon Pennsylvania statutes. The new government, however, proceeded to adopt a new revenue law, many features of which were similar to the Virginia laws then in force. From this it is inferred that the new law represented Virginia ideas. If the above conclusions be correct, it follows that the first revenue system established in Missouri, while the future Commonwealth was still a part of the District of Louisiana, had its origin in the Virginia system, whence it found its way here through the legislation of the Northwest and Indiana Territories.

5. SOURCES OF REVENUE.

The sources of revenue during the territorial period were four, — fines, fees, licenses, and taxes.

(a) *Fines and Fees.*

The new territory had its system of fines. For the most part, however, these were intended as punishments for violation of law and were but incidentally sources of revenue. An exception to this general rule is found in a law of 1807, which provided that all persons convicted in the Court of Quarter Sessions should be fined .50, the amount being afterwards increased to $1. This was manifestly an attempt to use the penal power to increase the general revenue.

Fees formed an important source of revenue. Much of the work done for the government was paid in fees, and numerous laws specified in detail the amounts that might be charged for services rendered. In the main, the fees did not provide general revenue, but were retained by the persons performing the service. There were, however, certain exceptions to this. In 1807, the need for increased revenue led to a special charge of .50 (increased later to $1) for writs and executions, the income from which went into the general revenue fund. For the same fund, in 1815, a charge of .50 was made for every certificate of the clerk of the County Court. In 1813, a special charge of fifty cents was made for recording deeds and mortgages, the purpose in this case being to replenish the territorial treasury.

(b) *Licenses.*

A third source of revenue was license-charges, which, at one time or another, were required of a variety of occupations. As has been seen, the first revenue law required ferrymen and merchants who sold goods not produced in the district to pay for licenses. To these were afterwards added keepers of public billiard tables and of taverns, Indian traders, attorneys, physicians, proprietors of unauthorized lotteries, and ped-

dlers. In establishing rates, the law usually either fixed a definite sum or set limits within which those charged with the administration of the law determined the amount. Thus the rate for merchants licenses was, at first, $15, annually, subsequently increased to $10, semi-annually, and again to $15, semi-annually; the rate for attorneys and physicians was $10, annually; and for peddlers $14, semi-annually. The charge for ferry licenses was fixed, in 1804, at not to exceed $10, annually, afterwards changed to from $5 to $100, and later to from $2 to $100; the rate for public billiard tables was not to exceed $50, annually; and for tavern licenses from $10 to $30. In the case of Indian traders a proportional rate was at first tried, the rate being fixed at 1 per cent of the value of the equipment. This rate was subsequently increased to 1½ per cent, and then changed to the fixed sum of $52.

To what extent revenue and to what extent regulation were involved in the license charges cannot be definitely determined. The law of 1806, establishing a license charge for taverns, states that it is "for the prevention of disorders and mischiefs which may happen by a multiplicity of houses of entertainment." Moreover, a desire to regulate was probably the reason for the law of 1816 requiring unauthorized lotteries to pay 50 per cent of the money or property they proposed to dispose of. The idea of regulation may also have entered into the other license charges, especially those imposed upon ferrymen and Indian traders, but it is highly probable that revenue was a leading consideration in most cases.

(c) *Taxes.*

The fourth source of revenue mentioned was taxes. As this is to-day the principal source of revenue, the territorial tax system possesses an unusual interest. The objects of taxation may be grouped in the three classes: (1) real property, (2) personal property, and (3) unmarried men.

(1) *Real Property.*— The real property taxed by the law of 1804 included "all houses in town, town lots, out lots and mansion houses in the country, valued at $200 and upwards," and water and wind mills. In 1806, there were added to

these, plantations actually cultivated, of the value of $200 and upwards, and horse mills. Two years later, in 1808, the exemption on the basis of valuation below $200 disappeared, and there were added to the list of taxable real property distilleries and tanyards in operation at the time of assessing or within the three months preceding. By the supplementary act of 1814, taxation was extended to uncultivated lands, in certain cases the amount of uncultivated lands taxed being limited to 800 arpens (about 680 acres), while the next year all land was taxed. Pre-emption rights were made subject to taxation in 1815, but the legislature evidently repented of this in haste for the same day that this was approved as part of a general law, another act was approved repealing the tax on pre-emption rights. It is interesting to note the steps by which the scope of the law was extended to include practically all real property. Beginning with 1804, farm land is not taxed, and there is an exemption of certain other real property valued below $200; in 1806, cultivated land was added; in 1808, the exemption was removed; in 1814, uncultivated land was included with certain exceptions; and in 1815, all land was taxed.

(2) *Personal Property.*— The personal property taxed at first included only stock and slaves and not all of these. Of the stock, there were taxed, horses, mules, asses, and neat cattle three years old and upwards, provisions for which are found in the law of 1804 and remain throughout the period. Able-bodied slaves were taxed throughout the period with slight variations as to age limit. In 1808, there were added to the personal property taxed, carriages for pleasure, and billiard tables. Public billiard tables had been subject to a license charge heretofore, but now all billiard tables were taxed.

(3) *Unmarried Men.*— Throughout the period there was a poll-tax levied on able-bodied single men possessed of limited property. In 1804, all were taxed who did not have taxable property to the amount of $400; this limit was subsequently reduced to $100 and afterwards raised to $200.

The rates charged were usually *ad valorem* on real property

and specific on personal property, though there were exceptions to both. The rates on real property were not to exceed .30 on the $100 valuation in 1804; not to exceed .50 in 1806; and not to exceed 100 cents in 1808. In 1814, the rate was fixed at 30 cents on the $100 valuation. In 1814, however, land, except town lots, was charged with a specific ax of 50 cents on the 100 arpens (83⅓ acres), which was nereased to 60 cents in 1815, with a tax of 12½ cents on certain lands whose titles were not yet finally settled.

In the case of personal property, specific rates predominated. The rate on horses, mules, and asses was not to exceed 50 cents in 1804, 33⅓ cents in 1806, 37½ cents in 1808 and 25 cents in 1815. The rate on neat cattle, until 1815, was not to exceed 10 cents; in that year the maximum was fixed at 6¼ cents. Horses kept for breeding purposes were charged not to exceed the rate of their services. The rate on slaves was not to exceed $1 by the acts of 1804, 1806 and 1808. In 1814 an additional tax of 40 cents was laid for territorial purposes, and in 1815, the rates on slaves were fixed at 62½ cents for territorial purposes and at not to exceed 50 cents for county purposes. Carriages for pleasure were in 1808 included in the general class of property taxed at not to exceed 100 cents on the $100 valuation. In 1814, however, specific charges were substituted for the *ad valorem*. Four wheeled carriages for pleasure were taxed $10 each: others $5 each. But the next year they returned to the *ad valorem* rating. Pleasure carriages were made a separate class and taxed at $1.50 on the $100. Billiard tables were taxed $100 each in 1808, but, in 1815, the tax was reduced to $25 each. The poll tax on unmarried men with limited taxable property varied. In 1804, it was placed at from 50 cents to $2; in 1806, it was fixed at $1; in 1808, it was not to exceed $1, and in 1815, it was fixed at 50 cents.

6. ADMINISTRATION.

It is characteristic of the form of government in the United States that the Commonwealth is the unit from which we

go to the Federal government on the one hand, and to the county and other minor political divisions on the other. The counties and towns are the creation of the Commonwealth, and are entirely subordinate thereto. In the development of the Commonwealth of Missouri, the districts, which became the first counties, antedated the territorial organization itself. When provision was first made for governing the Territory, the districts already existing were assumed as the legal units. No specific regulation of district, or county, boundaries was made until Gov. Howard, in his proclamation of 1812, designated provisional county lines, preparatory to the election of members of the House of Representatives newly provided for by Act of Congress. These units were called "districts" until 1812, but I shall refer to them as "counties," for they corresponded to the units commonly designated "counties," and I shall thereby avoid the confusion incident to a change in terminology that would be necessary after 1812 when the districts became counties. Moreover, the entire territory that became the Territory of Louisiana was first called the District of Louisiana.

From the first, the counties occupied a prominent place in the government. They were the unit through which administration was effected. Indeed, the first revenue law made provision neither for territorial revenue machinery nor even for territorial revenue. In a study, then, of the financial administration, the county is the starting point. The process of securing revenue involves the three steps,— establishment of regulations, assessment, and collection and deposit.

(a) Administrative Body. — In many cases, the laws enacted by the regular legislative body of the Territory made only general regulations, leaving it to the discretion of local authorities to determine the specific provisions that should be enforced. So there was needed a local administrative body which, within the limits set by the territorial legislature, should make regulations and oversee their execution. It is evident that this portion of the administrative machinery gave considerable trouble. Frequent changes were made. No

fewer than six plans were tried within the seventeen years constituting the territorial period.

(1) *Court of Quarter Sessions.*— The general oversight of financial administration was first placed in the "Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace." There was one such court for every county, composed of the justices of the peace for the county, who were appointed by the Governor. This court was part of the judicial system, within the jurisdiction of which came all criminal cases except capital offenses.

(2) *Board of Commissioners and Assessors.*— By the second revenue act, in 1806, the composition of the administrative body was entirely changed. That act provided for a board to be composed of three commissioners for each county and two assessors for each division of a county. The commissioners were appointed by the Governor for three years, one to go out of office each year. The Court of Quarter Sessions divided the county into convenient districts and appointed two assessors for each.

(3) *Board of Auditor and Assessors.*—Two years later, a third plan was tried. In place of the three commissioners, the Governor appointed an auditor for each county, and in place of the two assessors for each division of a county, appointed by the Court of Quarter Sessions, there were two assessors for the entire county appointed by the Court of Common Pleas. The auditor and the assessors constituted a board for the administration of finances.

(4) *Court of Common Pleas.*— This board of auditor and assessors continued until 1813. In the meantime a measure of self-government had been introduced into the Territory by its advance to the second class. Following this the system of courts was entirely reorganized, and the duties of financial administration were assigned to the Court of Common Pleas.

(5) *County Court.*— In 1814 and 1815 sweeping changes were made in the revenue system. By a further reorganization of the judicial system, in 1815, Circuit and County Courts were established in place of the Courts of Common Pleas. To the County Courts were given the powers possessed by the Courts of Common Pleas "in all cases relating to the

public roads and highways, in cases relating to the territorial and county tax, * * * and in all other cases relating to the concerns of the county."

(6) *Circuit Court.*— The County Court system lasted but one year. In January, 1816, the County Courts were abolished and their functions transferred to the Circuit Courts. In 1815, the Territory had been divided into two circuits, and provision had been made for the appointment by the Governor of one Circuit Judge for each. The Northern Circuit was composed of St. Charles, St. Louis, and Washington counties: the Southern of Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid counties. (Arkansas County was provided for by special act. Ter. Laws, v. i. 381.) Three sessions of the court were held annually in each county. It is worthy of note that the Circuit Judge was a territorial officer, paid out of the territorial treasury. This feature of the administrative system remained unchanged from this time until the adoption of the constitution.

b. ASSESSMENT.— The second step in securing revenue is to list and value the property. Property owners were required to supply lists of their taxable property. When these were properly prepared, so far as specific rates prevailed, there remained nothing further but to determine the amount of taxes and to provide lists for the collectors. But where owners failed to supply lists or gave in false lists, and where *ad valorem* rates necessitated a valuation, the services of an assessor were required. However, the extent to which specific rates were employed materially decreased the labor of assessment. Several systems of assessment were tried. In 1804, it was provided that the sheriff should list property where no lists or false lists were supplied, and that the Court of Quarter Sessions should appoint "two freeholders for each township, to appraise the value of houses in town, town lots and out lots, and mansion houses in the country, and all water and wind mills." This system remained until 1808, when county assessors, two for each county, were substituted for the township assessors. The appointment of county assessors was vested in the Court of Common Pleas. In 1815, the County Court was required to designate one of the senior

justices of each township to act as assessor, but the next year, upon the abolition of the County Court, the duty of assessing property was assigned to the sheriff.

The law of 1804 made no provision for appeals from assessments, except so far as it was made the duty of the Court of Quarter Sessions to "audit and adjust all claims and demands" against the county. But when, in 1806, a board of commissioners and assessors was created it was made the duty of the commisioners to hear appeals. In 1808, this duty, with others, was transferred to the auditor, who took the place of the county commissioners. He was then required to hold an appeal in each township. In 1813, the Court of Common Pleas, in 1815, the County Court, and in 1816, the clerk of the Circuit Court heard appeals and equalized assessments.

(c) Collector and Treasurer.—Throughout the period the sheriff was collector of taxes, and except from 1806 to 1808, when the office of county treasurer existed, the sheriff retained charge of the county funds until ordered by competent authority to disburse them.

(d) Territorial Administration.—The beginning of a system of financial administration for the Territory, distinct from that provided for the counties, was made in 1806, when a territorial treasurer was provided. In 1810, provision was made for a territorial auditor, who should be ex-officio auditor of St. Louis County. Four years later, a separate auditor was appointed for the Territory. The chief administrative body of the Territory was the legislature.

7. TERRITORIAL REVENUE.

Until 1806, no provisions existed for territorial revenue. All revenue went into the county treasury for county purposes. In that year, however, it was ordered that 20 per cent of the revenue should be set apart for territorial expenses. Two years later, it was provided that income from licenses for selling merchandise, and from tavern, ferry, and public billiard table licenses, together with the fines and forfeitures incident thereto, should be paid

into the territorial treasury. As yet, however, territorial revenue was of incidental importance only. In 1814, there were signs that the territorial revenue was becoming a question of prime importance. A law of that year, to supply additional revenue for the Territory, provided for taxes on slaves, pleasure carriages, land, both town lots and farms, and houses and improvements. Of these, land alone was reserved for the exclusive use of the Territory. In addition to these, the license charges for trading with the Indians, the special fees for writs and executions, and the special fines for convictions were to go to the territorial treasury. The entire revenue system was revised in 1815, and at that time the sources of revenue for the Territory and the county were almost entirely separated. Only slaves remained an object of taxation common to both.

8. CONCLUSION.

The early revenue system compared with that existing to-day, presents many points of difference. Of these, three are especially noteworthy: there was no attempt to tax intangible personal property; there was no general property tax; and there was a separation of territorial and local sources of revenue. The early system confined itself to real property and tangible personalty. The explanation of this is apparent. Intangible personalty formed a comparatively insignificant part of the property. It is doubtful if there were any stocks and bonds, at least during most of the period, and the amount of mortgage indebtedness must have been small.

It is significant also that there was not a general property tax. Not only was there no attempt to tax intangible personalty, but such personalty as was taxed usually bore a specific rather than an *ad valorem* rate. Thus there was a horse tax, a cattle tax, a carriage tax, and others, but there was no provision for estimating the total value of all kinds of property as the basis of the property tax. Not least significant of the differences was the well-nigh complete separation

of the territorial and county systems. This was not an accident, for when territorial revenue was provided, it consisted of 20 per cent of the funds collected for county purposes. But by successive steps in 1808, 1814, and 1815 the sources of revenue for the Territory were, as has been seen, entirely separated except in the case of slaves. In general, it may be said that license charges, special fees and fines, and taxes on real property were assigned to the territorial revenue, while to the county revenue were assigned taxes on personal property and on unmarried men. There were, however, exceptions to this. Thus of the personalty, the taxes on pleasure carriages and a tax on slaves formed part of the territorial revenue, while of the realty, the taxes on mills, tanyards and distilleries went to the county. This separation of territorial and county finance, though not made perhaps on scientific principles, possessed many advantages.

The principle upon which the obligation to contribute to the support of the government was conceived to rest is not clearly set forth. From certain features of the system, it might be inferred that the test of obligation was ability as determined largely by the possession of productive resources. The revenue was derived principally from license charges on certain productive occupations and from taxes on agricultural wealth. The exemption of other forms of property is not inconsistent with the theory mentioned, for agricultural wealth represented most of the productive property of the community. Moreover, there is apparent, a tendency to exempt unproductive agricultural wealth. Thus uncultivated lands were not taxed until 1814 and 1815, at which time they began to have a speculative value; stock was exempted below the age of three years. To the objection that the specific taxation of personal property and of uncultivated land is not in harmony with taxation according to ability, it is to be said that under the existing conditions of society, differences in the quality of stock and even differences in the value of uncultivated land were not of much moment.

On the whole, it may fairly be concluded that the financial system was suited to the times. The subsequent substitution

of the general property tax for the special property taxes of this period was in harmony with a recognized tendency of development. Whether the continued reliance upon the general property tax under present conditions meets the requirements of sound finance is worthy the most careful consideration.

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"Louisiana Purchase."

Broadhead.

Missouri Historical Society.

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No. 13.

"The Louisiana Purchase: Extent of Territory Acquired by Said Purchase."

BY COL. JAMES O. BROADHEAD.

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THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

EXTENT OF TERRITORY ACQUIRED BY THE PURCHASE.

BY COL. JAMES O. BROADHEAD.

(Read before the Society, February 16th, 1897.)

When at Washington, a few weeks ago, I saw hanging upon the walls of a room in the Interior Department a new map of the United States just published, upon which was printed in large letters, with marked boundaries, the different sections of our national territory and the sources from which the title to each was derived. The territory acquired from France by the Treaty of 1803, upon that map, was made to extend to the Pacific Ocean, and to include the States of Oregon and Washington.

At this day it may not be of material interest whether this be the true extent of territory acquired from France or not; it may be said that we have it and expect to hold it, and that is all there is of it.

But certainly it is interesting to the student of American history to know how certain parts of our territory were acquired, and when they were acquired; this is admitted by the fact of the publication of the map referred to.

It is with some diffidence that I shall undertake to show that the territory acquired from France never did, expressly or by intendment, extend to the Pacific Ocean, or in a western direction beyond the country watered by the Mississippi and Missouri rivers and their tributaries.

In support of this position I propose to rely upon the statements of contemporary historians; upon the principles of international law as recognized by the leading European

nations of that day; and upon the admissions of our statesmen and diplomatists from time to time, as expressed in their negotiations with the representatives of other powers. The loose assertions which have been made in regard to this subject, manifest no studied effort to vindicate the truth of history in this respect.

As a historical fact there are no persons more deeply interested in this question than the citizens of our own State.

So far as I am informed there has never been any judicial determination of the question; nor has there been a full agreement amongst historians. Mr. Justin Winsor says that the superintendent of the census of 1870 claims that by the Treaty of 1803 we acquired the Pacific Coast, whilst as superintendent of the census for 1880 he takes a contrary view of the subject.*

Mr. Winsor, in his Appendix to the 7th volume of the Critical History of America, on page 556, states that in 1800 Spain ceded to France all her rights to the territory west of the Mississippi river; that whatever claim France acquired she in turn ceded to the United States by the Treaty of 1803, and that, "whether this includes the country beyond the Rocky Mountains has been a question in dispute, without much ground on the affirmative side."

In his late work, "The Mississippi Basin," he says: "the country embraced in the grant to Crozat defines the Territory of Louisiana, it made no claim to go beyond the sources of the river, though there has been sometimes doubt whether in ceding Louisiana to the United States, the cession did not touch the Pacific between England on the north and Spain on the south." (Page 85.)

He then, in his Critical History, makes reference to the works of various writers on either side of the question, viz.: Greenhow and J. J. Anderson, who maintain what Mr. Winsor calls the United States claim of discovery and occupation, and Barrows, the author of the History of Oregon, and on the other side Johnson and Gay, and Mowry in a paper of the

* Critical History of America, Vol. 7, p. 557.

American Historical Association, and a map in the Journal of the American Geographical Society, and Donaldson's Map of the Public Domain.

I cannot find that A. H. Bancroft, in his voluminous work, has given any opinion upon this question.

This conflict of authority shows that it is still an open question, and, therefore, I am free to give my views, as any other American citizen is free to give his views, upon the subject, and support them by testimony and authority which, in my judgment, establish beyond a reasonable doubt the fact that by the Treaty of 1803 the territory ceded by France to the United States embraced only the territory watered by the Mississippi and Missouri rivers and their tributaries.

The negotiations preceding the adoption of that treaty are of the most interesting character, but it would make this paper too long to attempt at this time to enter upon that branch of the subject; it will be sufficient to state that the negotiations on either side were conducted by statesmen of world-wide reputation; on the side of France by Napoleon, Talleyrand and Barbé-Marbois, and on the side of the United States by President Jefferson, James Madison, Secretary of State, Robert Livingston, of New York, then our Minister Plenipotentiary to France, and Mr. Monroe, who was appointed by the President as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary for the special purpose of aiding in the negotiation of that treaty. The negotiations at Paris were mainly carried on by Talleyrand on the part of France, and by Mr. Livingston and Mr. Monroe on the part of the United States, but in the final execution of the treaty Napoleon substituted Barbé-Marbois, Minister of the Public Treasury, in the place of Talleyrand because, as is very evident, he was afraid that the latter would be bribed by the British government to defeat the proposed treaty.

The language of the first article of the Treaty so far as it relates to the territory ceded to the United States is as follows:—

Art. I. "Whereas, by Article Third of the Treaty concluded at St. Ildefonso, the 9th Vendemiaire, An: 9 (1st

Oct., 1800), between the First Consul of the French Republic and his Catholic Majesty, it was agreed as follows:—

"His Catholic Majesty promises and engages on his part to cede to the French Republic six months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and stipulations herein relative to the Duke of Parma,* the Colony of or Province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States; * * * The first Consul of the French Republic desiring to give to the United States a strong proof of his friendship, doth hereby cede to the United States, in the name of the French Republic, forever and in full sovereignty, the said territory, with all its rights and appurtenances, as fully and in the same manner, as they have been acquired by the French Republic, in virtue of the above mentioned Treaty concluded with his Catholic Majesty."

By the 6th Article of the Treaty, the United States agreed to execute such treaties as Spain may have agreed upon with certain tribes and nations of Indians.

By the 3rd Article of the Treaty of St. Ildefonso, Spain retrocedes to France, "The Colony or Province of Louisiana," with the same extent "that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it ought to be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and the other States." †

The original Province or Colony of Louisiana embraced not only the territory west of the Mississippi, but also West Florida to the Perdido river. West Florida had already been ceded by France to Spain, and by the Treaty between Spain and the United States in 1795 the boundary line between the

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* Spain by this Treaty had retroceded the Province of Louisiana to France upon consideration that the latter would cede the Province of Etruria to the Duke of Parma, the son-in-law of the King of Spain.

† American State Papers, volume 12, page 73, published under the patronage of Congress, 3rd edition published at Boston in 1819, by Wait, embracing confidential communications.

United States and West Florida had been established; this explains the last clause of the 3rd Article of the Treaty.

Chief Justice Marshall in the case of Johnson *v.* McIntosh, 8 Wheaton, 572, tells us that in the discovery of this immense continent, the great nations of Europe were eager to appropriate to themselves so much of it as they could respectively acquire, but, as all were in pursuit of the same object, it was necessary, to avoid war with each other, to establish a principle which all should acknowledge as the law by which the right of acquisition should be regulated. This principle was that discovery gave title to the government by whose subjects or by whose authority it was made, against all other European governments, which title might be consummated by possession.

"France founded her title to the vast territories she claimed in America on discovery. And she claimed Louisiana comprehending the immense territories watered by the Mississippi, and the rivers which empty into it by title of discovery." And as to the extent of such title Mr. Calhoun, as Secretary of State, in his letter to Mr. Packenham, of September 3d, 1844, pending the controversy with Great Britain in regard to the northwestern boundary, said that "in case of the discovery of an island it has usually been maintained in practice to extend a claim of discovery or occupancy to the whole; so likewise in the case of a river it has been usual to extend them to the entire region drained by it, more especially in cases of a discovery and settlement at the mouth, and emphatically so when accompanied by exploration of the river and the region through which it flows." (5 Calhoun's Works, p. 432.) "Such has been the opinion and the practice in such cases since the discovery of the continent." And he admits that such was the rule in regard to the Colony of Louisiana. This doctrine is based upon the principle asserted by Vattel in his work on the Law of Nations, that all mankind have an equal right to things which have not fallen into the possession of anyone, and they belong to the person who first takes possession of them.

It is true that Mr. Calhoun in the same letter did maintain that Spain's title to the region west of the Rocky Mountains,

based on discovery, was transferred to the United States by cession from Spain to France, and then from France to the United States. But it is not true that Spain ever ceded to France any territory on the Pacific Coast; the Treaty of 1800 (St. Ildefonso) was a retrocession by Spain to France of the "Colony of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it." And it is not pretended that there was ever any other treaty of session from Spain to France affecting that territory subsequent to the year 1800, so that no new territory or claim to territory was embraced in the treaty of cession than that which France possessed when she ceded the territory to Spain in 1763. And France had not possessed and did not claim to have possessed any territory on the Pacific Coast.

Mr. Calhoun, however, contends that the French and Indian War between France and Great Britain, which was terminated by the Treaty of 1763, was a contest for contiguous territory, that is, territory contiguous to their possessions upon this continent, and that Great Britain, by the doctrine of contiguity, was entitled to all the country westward of her settlements upon the Atlantic Coast, and extending to the Pacific Ocean, and that Great Britain when she declared in the Treaty with France of 1763, "that the confines of the Dominions of his Majesty shall be the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi river," thereby relinquished to France her claim of contiguity, and by that means France acquired the title to the country on the Pacific Ocean which was in turn ceded to the United States by the Treaty of 1803. The best answer that can be given to an argument of this character, is given by Winsor, where in a note on pages 555–556 of the 7th volume of the Critical History of America, he says: "This was the condition when the United States began to establish her claim, unless as was rather whimsically urged by D. C. Murdock, the American claim was really based on the territorial extension to the Pacific under the Charter of Virginia," at the end of which he places simply a note of exclamation (!) amazement that any such claim should ever have been set up.

Great Britain at that time, and perhaps at other times, has claimed all the land that joined her territories by the doctrine of contiguity, yet I think it may be said with confidence that no other nation has ever asserted this doctrine as a rule of international law, nor was there then, nor is there now, any such doctrine established by the common consent of nations.

Whatever territory Great Britain owned west of the Ohio river she obtained by conquest from France, and not by contiguity, and by the Treaty of 1763 fixed her western boundary at the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi river.

Wheaton in his work on International Law says: "It will not be denied that the extent of contiguous country to which an actual settlement gives prior right must depend on the magnitude and population of that settlement, and on the facility with which the adjacent vacant land may within a short time be occupied, settled and cultivated by such population, compared with its being occupied and settled from any other quarter." (Third ed., p. 220; *ibid*, 2nd ed., p. 316.)

The first charter given by England was to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584 to all the land he could find; but he made no permanent settlement under it; he made a settlement on the island of Roanoke, which, after a short time, was abandoned. The next, to the Virginia Colony in 1606; next, to the London Company in 1609, from sea to sea; but fully one hundred and fifty years lapsed before there was an English settlement west of the Ohio river, and in the meantime the French had occupied the Valley of the Mississippi for at least seventy-five years before the French and Indian War which terminated in the Treaty of 1763, by which France ceded to England all her territory east of that river, and so the contiguity was broken, if it ever existed as a territorial right.

The protracted war between England and France, which was terminated by the Treaty of Paris, of 1763, by which she ceded to Great Britain all of Louisiana north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, furnished at once an illustration of this doctrine of international law and at the same time most important evidence of the extent of the French territory west of the Mississippi river, for in that controversy France

claims only the region to the west drained by the Mississippi and its waters, by virtue of exploration and settlement, and this was the same claim made by La Salle in the name of France nearly one hundred years before, when he discovered the mouth of the Mississippi on the 6th of April, 1682.

La Salle, in his account of his celebrated voyage, and the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi, says: "After having left the village of Tangibao (where it seems there had been a great battle among the Indians), they continued their voyage forty leagues, and on the 6th of April they saw that the river was divided into three branches; the next day, April 7th, La Salle reconnoitered the right channel; he sent De Tonti to visit the middle branch, and Dautray the left; at the end of two leagues they found salt water, and a little while after the open sea; they then retraced the same channels, and, upon reassembling, they congratulated each other with extreme joy in having happily achieved so great an enterprise. On the 9th of April La Salle caused to be erected the Arms of France, and after having sung the hymn Vexilla Regis and the Te Deum, he took possession of the river in the name of the King, and of all the rivers which enter it, and of all the country which they watered. Then he caused to be made an authentic act, signed by all his people, and, after a discharge of guns, he placed in the ground a plate of lead with the Arms of France upon it, and upon which the names of all those who made the discovery were engraved."

The same account substantially is given by Chevalier De Tonti in his work, on pages 104–105. He gave a much more detailed account of the expedition than is to be found in the notes of LaSalle, and mentions the fact that after the explorers passed the village of the Illinois tribe of Indians, on what is now the Illinois river, and built Fort Creve Cœur above the mouth of that stream, LaSalle having lost one of his boats laden with supplies in the straits of Mackinaw, (Michilimackinac) returned to Fort Frontenac for other supplies, leaving him with orders to build a new fort to be called Fort St. Louis, which was nearer the mouth of the Illinois river, and that he completed the fort and remained in

charge of it until the return of LaSalle, during which time he had great difficulty in preventing an attack by the Illinois tribe of Indians on account of the secret information, given by some of his own men, that he had formed an alliance with the Iroquois, the hereditary enemies of the Illinois and the most powerful tribe in the whole valley of the Mississippi, and the most treacherous and bloodthirsty, denominated by Parkman as the "pests of the wilderness." De Tonti also gives an account of the return of LaSalle and of his division of the party of explorers, and the sending of one party on a voyage up the Mississippi under the conduct of M. Dacan to discover the source of that stream, that this party ascended the river as far as the 50th degree north latitude, of his having made several settlements in that region, and that he placed the King's Arms upon a large tree. (Father Hennepin was with the expedition.) * The rest or the party with LaSalle and De Tonti descended the river for the discovery of its mouth.

LaSalle according to his account left Fort Frontenac, which was on Lake Ontario, in the latter part of August, 1681, embarked on Lake Toranto, as it was then called, and in the early part of November arrived at the River Miamis on the south side of Illinois Lake (now Lake Michigan); on December 21, he directed De Tonti to embark and to go to the mouth of a river, called by the savages "Chicagou," and make preparation for the trip across to the Illinois river which had been discovered some years before by Joliet and Marquette, who went down as far as the Arkansas and no further. On January 4, 1682, he joined them and found the Chicagou river frozen over; on the 27th they set out on this expedition; on the 6th of February they arrived at the mouth of the Illinois river, and then prosecuted their voyage down that stream; opposite the mouth of the Ohio LaSalle planted a cross and claimed possession of the country. They afterwards lost one of their men, by the name of Prudhomme; on the 2nd of March he

* In a note to this work (Hennepin) it is said that Michael d'Accault was deemed the head of the party, he became Sieur d' Accault, d' Ako, Dacau, the same name given by De Tonti.

was found, and thereupon LaSalle caused a fort to be erected by that name, and left Prudhomme in charge of it. LaSalle on his return trip left Tonti in charge of Fort St. Louis and returned to France and gave the King an account of his expedition, and was received with many marks of distinction. LaSalle's own notes of the expedition were not published until 1859. They were found, says Thomassy, in his account of them, in the Scientific Archives of the Marine in a bundle (cahier) where they had been in some manner concealed by other manuscripts of the same character, and were first published at Montpelier by Jean Martel. *

After his return to France a new expedition was fitted out of four vessels and nearly 300 persons for the purpose of forming a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi; one of the vessels was laden with articles necessary for a settlement, and another one of the vessels which had stopped at St. Domingo with freight was captured by Spanish cruisers. They failed to find the mouth of the Mississippi, anchored in the Bay of St. Bernard (Espiritu Santo), where they landed, and after several unsuccessful attempts to find the Mississippi, left Fort St. Louis, which he had built, in command of Le Barbier, and took his departure with sixteen others to go by land to the Illinois, and thence to Canada. On his journey he was assassinated by two of his own men. His brother, Cavelier LaSalle, with Joutel and several others of the party, successfully accomplished the journey, and arrived at the French fort on the Illinois, where they found Tonti, who had gone down the Mississippi the second time under orders sent him by LaSalle before he left France to meet him at the mouth of the river, and had afterwards returned to the Illinois, LaSalle having failed to meet him. On his return trip he built a fort on the Arkansas river and left some men in charge of it, and afterwards stopped at Fort Prudhomme.

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* Parkman, in his "Discovery of the Great West," speaking of the discovery of LaSalle, says France acquired the "fertile plains of Texas; the vast basin of the Mississippi from its frozen Northern springs to the sultry borders of the Gulf, from the woody ridges of the Alleghanies to the bare peaks of the Rocky Mountains." Page 283.

There were three narratives of the expeditions of La Salle, all published at Paris by persons who accompanied him; first in 1683 by Hennepin, second by the Chevalier De Tonti, Governor of Fort St. Louis, in 1697, and third by Joutel, who was with him (La Salle) in his last expedition.

I mention the above facts to show that there was occupancy of the territory by the French after the discovery of the mouth and source of the Mississippi; so that the rules established between the nations which made discoveries in America, and referred to by Mr. Calhoun, viz.: discovery, exploration and occupation, had all been fulfilled by the French in regard to Louisiana.

Mr. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State under Mr. Monroe, in his correspondence with Don Onis, the Spanish Minister, in regard to the purchase of the Floridas and the fixing of the boundary between Louisiana and Texas, which was then one of the provinces of New Spain, says "of all the heroic enterprises, which in the 16th and 17th centuries signalized the discoveries of Europeans upon this continent there is not one of which the evidence is more certain, authentic and particular than those of LaSalle." And yet in no part of that lengthy correspondence, in which Mr. Adams attempts to establish the true boundary between Louisiana and the Spanish Provinces, does he claim that the territory ceded by the Paris Treaty of 1763, or of St. Ildefonso of 1800, or the Treaty of 1803, extended westward farther than the sources of the Mississippi river. Mr. Adams, however, does say in one of his letters to Don Onis on the subject of boundary, that we consider the Charter of Louis XIV to Crozat, "as it has always been considered by the world, as a document not only indicative of sound judgment and discretion, but as marking the limits of Louisiana, as always claimed by France, and transferred, as relates to the western limits, with her title to that province, to the United States." (Vol. 12, p. 79, Am. State Papers.) And he never claimed in his controversy with Spain about boundaries, that Spain by the treaty of St. Ildefonso of 1800, or at any other time had

ever ceded to France any territory or any claim to territory on the Pacific Coast.

Among the documents accompanying that correspondence (D. 4) and used as evidence by Mr. Adams, is an extract translated from the "Geographical and Historical Dictionary of the West Indias of America," by Col. Don Antonio de Alcedo, Captain of the Royal Spanish Guards, printed at Madrid in 1786, by permission of the government, and dedicated to the Prince of the Asturias, afterwards Charles IV. The extract is as follows:—

"*Louisiana*, a Province and Government of North America, one of the two which form New France, bounded on the south by the Gulf of Mexico: on the north by the river of Illinois and the Indian tribes Famasus, Paducas, Osages, Tronontes, Tacagas, Chevanons and others; on the east by West Florida, Georgia, and Carolina, and the west by New Mexico and New Spain. Its extent from north to south is about fifteen degrees, that is to say, from the 25th to the 40th degree of north latitude (about 1000 miles) and from east to west 10 or 11 degrees, between 86 and 96 longitude (about 650 miles); it limits, however, not being precisely fixed. M. de Lisle gives it a much greater extent, particularly towards the north, where it borders on Canada, and according to him, it is afterwards bounded by New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, etc., and to the west by the river Bravo and Salado." (12 American State Papers, p. 108.)

Mr. Adams, as Secretary of State, was undertaking to convince the Spanish Minister, Don Onis, that the Rio Bravo del Norte was the southwestern boundary of Louisiana, and included the larger portion of Texas, and his arguments and evidence are very strong if not conclusive on that point. For although Spain, after the discovery of Florida by Ponce de Leon in 1511–12, claimed the whole of the country bordering on the Gulf of Mexico from the Peninsula of Yucatan to the southern Cape of Florida, and the Gulf of Mexico as a *mare clausum*, by virtue of which claim Phillip II. issued a royal order to exterminate every foreigner who should dare to penetrate it, yet it was admitted by Spain in that controversy

that the Province of Texas was not founded until 1690, and that the presidios or settlements of Texas were adverse settlements to that of LaSalle, who six years before had taken formal possession of the country in the name of and by the authority of Louis XIV.

This was not the first time that our government had claimed the Rio Grande river as the southwestern boundary between us and the Spanish Possessions, but by the Treaty of 1819, when the two Floridas were ceded by Spain to the United States, that claim was finally abandoned and the boundary was established, "beginning at the mouth of the Sabine river, north along the western bank of that river to the 32nd degree of latitude, where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches or Red river; thence following the course of the Rio Roxo westward to the degree of longitude 100 west from London, and 23 from Washington; then crossing the said Red river, and running thence by a line due north to the river Arkansas, thence to its source in latitude 42 north, and thence by that parallel of latitude to the South Sea. But, if the source of the Arkansas shall be found to fall north or south of latitude 42, then the line shall run from the said source due south or north, as the case may be, till it meets the said parallel of 42, and thence along said parallel to the South Sea." (Treaty of 1819.) That parallel was then established as the northern boundary of California, and so it remains to this day. The same parallel forms the northern boundary of Utah and Nevada.

The 42nd parallel of latitude was really the northern boundary of the Spanish Possessions on the Pacific Ocean. It is true that the voyages of Cabrillo and his successors, De Fuca and others, beginning in 1543, extended as far north as 54 degrees, 40', but the Spaniards made no settlement north of 42 degrees, nor did they penetrate into the interior. (Critical History of America, vol. 8, page 555.) Capt. Gray, of Boston, in his second voyage around the world, entered the mouth of the Columbia river on the 11th day of May, 1792, and anchored in the river ten miles above its mouth. He called the river Columbia from the name of his vessel. In

April, 1792, Vancouver with an English vessel, explored the same coast, but failed to discover any river. The explorations of Lewis and Clark in 1804 and 1805, I will refer to hereafter.

In 1810 some American settlements were made, and in the spring of 1811 Astoria was founded by John Jacob Astor near the mouth of the Columbia, and in July of the same year Thompson, of the British Northwestern Company, came down to forestall the American settlement, but he was too late.

In the War of 1812, the British captured Astoria, but it was restored to the United States by the Treaty of Ghent.

During the controversy between the United States and Great Britain in regard to the northwestern boundary, in his letter to Packenham, Sept. 13, 1844, Mr. Calhoun, then our Secretary of State, says: "The cession of Louisiana gave us indisputed title west of the Mississippi, extending to the summit of the Rock Mountains and south between that river and those Mountains to the possessions of Spain." (Vol. 5, page 435.) This was a very important admission under the circumstances, when the title to the territory on the Pacific was then the subject of dispute between the United States and Great Britain.

McMaster in his recent History of the United States says: "By the custom of nations, the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi, gave to France all the country drained by that river and its branches." (Vol. 3, page 32.) Then he goes on further to say that "at the close of the seventeenth century Louisiana extended from the Rio Grande to the Mobile, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the country beyond the source of the Mississippi, and from the Smoky Mountains to the unknown regions of the West." The first assertion is undoubtedly correct, but in regard to the last he gives no evidence whatever. He does not, of course, mean that the discovery and occupation of the Mississippi gave any title beyond the sources of the Rio Grande, or beyond the sources of the other streams that empty into the Gulf of Mexico.

We asserted in 1805, in the correspondence of Mr. Monroe, and Mr. Pickney with Don Pedro Cavallos, the Spanish Min-

ister (in which it was claimed by our Ministers that the American title extended to the Rio Grande) as the practice and principle recognized by European nations which had formed settlements and held possessions in this hemisphere, "that when any European nation takes possession of any extent of sea coast, that possession is understood as extending into the interior country, to the sources of the rivers emptying within that coast, to all their branches, and the country they cover, and to give to it a right in exclusion of all other nations." That is, of course, where there is no prior occupancy by another nation, so that if Mr. McMaster makes the assertion founded upon the fact of the French settlement in Texas, he is mistaken, and there is no practice or reason or principle then or now recognized amongst nations which can justify the assertion that Louisiana at the close of the seventeenth century extended beyond the mountains to the unknown regions of the West. Besides, Spain long before this time had possession of the country on the headwaters of the Rio Grande.

Santa Fe, which is situated on one of the eastern tributaries of that stream in latitude thirty-five degrees, was first visited by the Spaniards in 1542; and from the year 1640, it was and continued to be the capital of the Spanish Province of New Mexico. From Santa Fe the Spaniards went farther north and settled a Colony at Taos, about one degree north of Santa Fe, and then they claimed to have gone, at a very early day, across the range of mountains which separates the headwaters of the Rio Grande from the Arkansas to the Los Animas river, one of the tributaries of the Arkansas, where they also claimed to have made settlements; and as late as 1817, the authorities of Missouri territory and at Washington acknowledged that the region of the country south of the Arkansas river was Spanish territory.

In 1817 Auguste Pierre Chouteau and Jules Demun, names well known in the history of St. Louis, with twenty-two others made an expedition to the headwaters of the Arkansas and Platte rivers to trade with the Indians. Whilst south of the Arkansas they were all arrested by a Spanish military force or

guard and taken to Santa Fe and kept in close confinement, some of them in chains for forty-eight days.

On the 9th of December, 1817, John Scott, the Territorial Delegate in Congress from Missouri, wrote to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, in regard to the matter, and said that the Company "went up the Missouri river and from thence into Spanish provinces, and were arrested and imprisoned by the authorities of that country at Santa Fe." Mr. Adams and President Monroe both wrote to the Spanish Minister at Washington, asking for the release of the party and passports for them through the Spanish territory for their safe return to their homes; and accordingly steps were taken for their release; but they lost all their property, valued at about $30,000 according to Demun's estimate, who gives a full account of the expedition and of their capture to the Governor of Missouri territory, Wm. Clark, in a letter to him of the date of November 25th, 1817. (American State Papers, Vol. 12, page 445.)

This was before the execution of the Treaty of 1819, and before the settlement of the boundary between the United States and the Spanish possessions, and no claim was at the time set up by the authorities of our government to the territory south of the Arkansas river, nor any demand made for damages, or loss of property.

In 1712, Louis XIV made his grant to Crozat, by which he established a system of jurisprudence for the territory, consisting of edicts, ordinances, and customs of Paris, which has been held to embrace the civil law in cases not covered by those customs, and "appointed Crozat to carry on a trade" in all the land possessed by us and bounded by Old and New Mexico on the west, and by the English of Carolina on the east, upon the River St. Louis, heretofore called the Mississippi, from the edge of the sea as far as the Illinois, together with the River St. Phillip, heretofore called the Missouri, and St. Gerome, heretofore called the Ouabache (Ohio), with all the countries, territories, lakes within land, and the rivers which fall directly or indirectly into that part of the River St. Louis. Our pleasure is that all the aforesaid lands, streams,

rivers and islands be and remain comprised under the name of the "Government of Louisiana." The country east of the Illinois river and north of the Ohio was called, both by the French and Spaniards, "The Illinois," and the grant was evidently intended to include that territory, at any rate the Mississippi and its tributaries were included as far north as the territory of the Illinois extended or to the Illinois; because as the Missouri river and its tributaries were included in the grant, it could not have been intended that its extent should be limited to the southern boundary of the country of the Illinois.

It ought here to be mentioned that, after the discoveries and settlements made by LaSalle and De Tonti, Bienville was appointed Governor of the French territory; that a French settlement was made at Biloxi, on what is called the Mississippi sound, east of New Orleans, about the year 1700, which became the first capital of Louisiana; that in 1718 he laid out and founded New Orleans, to which place the capital of the territory was removed; that in 1717 the commercial privileges granted to Crozat were obtained from him by John Law and the Mississippi Company, of which he, Law, was Director-General, and which afterwards, in 1731, were surrendered back to the crown of France.

I have said nothing of the discovery of the Mississippi above its mouth by Ferdinand de Soto in 1541, nor of those who succeeded him in expeditions of the same character, because the Spaniards made no settlement in that region, nor did they make any formal claim to the country; besides, if any such claim ever existed, it was repudiated by the cession from France to Spain in 1762; and by the retrocession of Spain to France by the Treaty of St. Ildefonso. De Soto sailed from Havana in 1539 for the coast of Florida, formed an expedition to the west by land and discovered the Mississippi in 1541 (Milburn).

The most important evidence on the point in question is to be found in the statements and admissions of the parties who negotiated and executed the Treaty of 1803. That Treaty was executed by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Livingston on

the 30th of April, 1803, on the part of the United States. In their letter to Mr. Madison, then Secretary of State, they say, "We have the pleasure to transmit to you, by Mr. D'Erieux, a treaty, which we have concluded with the French Republic for the purchase and cession of Louisiana. The negotiations of this important object were committed on the part of France to Mr. Marbois, Minister of the Treasury, whose conduct therein has already received the sanction of his government as appears by the ratification of the First Consul, which we have also the pleasure to forward to you." Then, after reciting briefly the history of the negotiation and the importance of acquiring the whole instead of a part of Louisiana, and pointing out the evils of a divided jurisdiction over the Mississippi river, they say, "but by this acquisition, which comprises within our limits this great river and all the streams that empty into it, from their sources to the ocean, the apprehension of these disasters is banished for ages from the United States." (Senate Documents, 1st Session of 19th Congress, page 764.) In the treaty itself nothing was said about the extent or the boundaries of the territory ceded, it was simply the Colony or Province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it had when France possessed it.

It is true that Mr. Monroe's statement does not absolutely exclude the idea that there may have been other territory embraced in the acquisition, but he does say that such was the acquisition, viz.: "comprising within its limits the great river and all the streams that empty into it," and the inference is irresistible that such was the limit of the acquisition. Besides, there was not, at that time, any claim of France to any territory beyond the source of that river, either of discovery, exploration or settlement.

Spain had ceded to France by the treaty of St. Ildefonso only the territory that France had ceded to her by the treaty of 1763; it was in the language of the Treaty a retrocession. In June of the same year, Mr. Livingston wrote to Mr. Madison as follows: "I hope in God that nothing will prevent your immediate ratification (of the Convention of 1803) and

without altering a syllable of the terms; if you wish anything changed ratify unconditionally and set on foot a new negotiation. Be persuaded that France is sick of the bargain, and that Spain is much dissatisfied and the slightest pretense will lose you the Treaty."

The price agreed upon was 80,000,000 francs; 20,000,000 francs was to be paid to our citizens on account of debts* due by France to them, and 60,000,000 francs in cash.

There is still further evidence from one of the negotiators of the Treaty, Barbé-Marbois, who signed the Treaty on behalf of the French Republic, and who made the proposition to our ministers to accept 80,000,000 francs as a consideration for the cession, instead of 100,000,000 francs exclusive of the debts due to our own citizens, proposed by the First Consul as the consideration. He wrote his "History of Louisiana, and of the Cession of that Colony by France to the United States of North America," accompanied by a map relating to the extent of the Colony ceded; this work was published in Paris in 1829.

In this connection it may be mentioned that on the 13th of April, Mr. Livingston had an interview with Marbois, in which Marbois told him of an interview he had with Napoleon the day before, at St. Cloud; in this interview reference was made to a proposition which had first appeared in a London paper to raise 50,000 men to take New Orleans; the Consul said he had seen the proposition and had also seen that something was said about $2,000,000 to be disposed of among the people about him to bribe them. The Consul then said, "well, you have charge of the Treasury, let them give you one hundred millions and pay their own claims and take the whole country." Mr. Livingston then said, in his letter to Mr. Madison: "I now plainly saw the whole business — first the Consul was disposed to sell; next he distrusted Talleyrand on account of the business of the supposed intention to bribe, and meant to put the negotiation into the hands of Marbois, whose character for integrity

* Debts, not indemnities, for the Treaty did not include the matter of indemnities for French spoliations from 1793 to 1803.

is established." * And so it was done because Napoleon mistrusted the man who had betrayed every master he had ever served.

Marbois was then in a position to know what was done and what was intended. In his History of Louisiana he says: —

"The shores of the Western Ocean were certainly not comprised in the cession, but the United States have already established themselves there." (Page 311, French Edition.) It is true, he says, the boundaries were uncertain, and that in giving to the first Consul an account of the conference he spoke to him of the obscurity of that article and the inconvenience of a stipulation so uncertain, to which Napoleon replied: "If the obscurity were not there, it would perhaps be good policy to put it there." (Page 312.) And so, according to the statement of Barbé-Marbois, although the exact boundaries were uncertain, they did not embrace the country on the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

Upon the chart accompanying the work, and across the territory extending from the Mississippi river to the Western Ocean, there are printed these words: "Acquisition of the United States by the Treaty and by its (effets) results." This excludes the idea that the whole of the acquisition was directly by the treaty. General Amos Stoddard, to whom the possession of the country was delivered by Charles Dehault de Lassus, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, in March, 1804, in his History of Louisiana takes substantially the same view. He says that the Territory is bounded: "south on the Gulf of Mexico; west on the Rio Bravo and partly by the Mexican mountains; north and northwest partly by the Shining Mountains (Rocky Mountains) and partly by Canada (New France); east by the Mississippi from its source to 31 degrees north, thence extending east on the line of demarkation to the river Perdido, thence down that river to the Gulf of Mexico." (Page 148.) He says further that the French for more than eighty years possessed, almost exclus-

* Mr. Livingston to Mr. Madison, Senate Documents, First Session, Nineteenth Congress, page 751.

ively, the navigation of all the western branches of the Mississippi and Missouri, and ascended many of them to their source, made permanent establishments and granted lands on the same, and exercised a civil and military jurisdiction on all, and only once, in 1720, did the Spanish attempt to molest them, then an expedition marched from Santa Fe nearly to the Missouri, but was destroyed by hostile Indians (p. 146).

If France in the instances I have alluded to, never did claim the territory on the Pacific Coast west of the sources of the Mississippi and its tributaries, but did claim the territory watered by those streams, then it is clear that in making the cession, she only ceded what she did actually claim and not what she did not claim. In other words as she ceded Louisiana by name, she must be held as ceding Louisiana as she had claimed it to be.

I have said that Justin Winsor states that the superintendent of the census of 1880 takes a contrary view to that given in census report of 1870, that is, that the territory of Louisiana did not embrace the Pacific Coast; and yet on examination of the report of General Walker of the census of 1880, it will be found that in speaking of Oregon and Washington Territories the report says: "The first claim to Oregon and Washington Territories belonged to Spain, which by the Greek pilot De Fuca in 1592 and by the subsequent explorers, had visited and mapped the greater part of the coast as far as the 55th degree of north latitude."

"The discovery and exploration of the Columbia River by Captain Robert Gray, an American; the purchase of Louisiana and all that belonged to it *as far as the Pacific from the French in 1803*, their claims being the next best to that of Spain; the exploration of the Columbia river by Lewis and Clark; and the Treaty of Limits concluded between Spain and the United States in 1819 by which the territory north of the 42nd degree of north latitude was expressly declared to belong to us, constituted our title to this region." (Vol. 19, 10th Census, p. 23.)

I can find nothing else on the subject in the census re-

ports of 1880, consisting of about twenty volumes, but I am quite sure that General Walker never wrote this part of the report. Such matters were generally prepared by the special agents of the bureau, and not by the superintendent. Such was the lengthy and interesting report on the State of Louisiana, made by George W. Cable. This must be some other statement from General Walker, which I have failed to discover, but which came under the eye of Mr. Winsor, for he is generally so accurate, that it would almost be presumptuous to question his assertion.

To sum up the matter, therefore, it appears that La Salle under a royal commission from Louis XIV, discovered the mouth of the Mississippi in April, 1682; that in the name of that Sovereign who was the master of all the dominions of France, and of all French people, if any people ever had a master, he claimed the river and all its tributaries, and all the country watered by those streams; that the country was explored and occupied from the mouth to its source; that on the 14th of September, 1712, the same monarch by his royal order ceded this territory to Crozat and the "Company of the West," declaring, in this same cession, that the edicts, ordinances and customs of Paris should be observed; that afterwards the assignee of Crozat surrendered the country back to the King; that on the 3d of November, 1762, France ceded to Spain all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi river and all of that stream, and south of the 31st degree of north latitude and the Island of New Orleans; that in 1800 Spain retroceded the same country to France by the Treaty of St. Ildefonso, except so far as the territory may have been altered by the Treaties made by Spain; and that on the 30th of April, 1803, the same territory was ceded to the United States. This is Louisiana.

It may be here stated that from the time of the cession to Spain in 1762, the Territory of Upper Louisiana was without a government for seven years, except that St. Ange, a Frenchman without authority, but perhaps by the silent acquiescence of the inhabitants, assumed command of Upper Louisiana; but it was not until 1769, that Count O'Reiley, by

the authority of Spain, landed at New Orleans and took possession of the whole country, and from that time it was under Spanish dominion until its retrocession by the Treaty by St. Ildefonso.

To be more particular in regard to dates, it appears that King Louis XV in a letter dated at Versailles the 21st of April, 1764, and directed to D'Abbadie "Director-General and Commandant for his Majesty in Louisiana" stated to him that on November 3d, 1762, by a "special act" done at Fontainebleau, France ceded to Spain the whole country known as Louisiana, and gave orders to D'Abbadie to surrender the country to the officer appointed for that purpose by the King of Spain, and directed that his letter be recorded in the Superior Council at New Orleans; and it was in February, 1763, that the Treaty of Paris was executed, by which the territory lying east of the Mississippi, and north of the Ohio, was ceded to Great Britain, and the remainder of the territory east of the Mississippi, including New Orleans, and all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, was held as being ceded to Spain.

In 1765 the King of Spain sent Ulloa from Cuba to take possession at New Orleans; he was the first Governor of the Territory appointed by Spain; when he arrived at New Orleans, the inhabitants revolted and refused to submit to Spanish authority, and resisted his attempt to take possession of the country, and Ulloa failing to accomplish his mission returned to Havana.

On the 27th of July, 1769, Count O'Reilly "Lieut.-General and Inspector-General of the Army of his Catholic Majesty," entered the Mississippi "with a great number of vessels and troops," M. Aubry, the French officer, was then in command; at midnight a Spanish officer arrived with a letter from O'Reilly saying that he was sent by His Catholic Majesty to take, in his royal name, possession of Louisiana.

M. Aubry the next day called a meeting of the inhabitants and explained to them the situation (see Guyarre's History of Louisiana, p. 292) and they finally submitted to the authority of O'Reilly, who then prepared a code of laws for

the government of the province and issued a proclamation to the inhabitants (see Appendix to Guyarre's History of Louisiana). Much of this matter will be found in the case of the Batture of New Orleans (see Am. Law Journal, Vol. 2, p. 282, also in the second Vol. of American State Papers, p. 7, and in Vol. 5, p. 20 of Am. Law Journal). It is said that the instrument suppressing the French and substituting the Spanish code, is the proclamation of O'Reilly of Nov. 25th, 1769. (See also 8 Reynal, 166, edition of 1780.)

It was decided by the court at New Orleans in 1808 in the Batture case, that the laws of France were in force in Louisiana from the year 1762 till the possession of the country was taken by the King of Spain in 1769, but I can find nothing to show that St. Ange, who came from Vincennes (St. Vincent), and assumed command at St. Louis, was duly appointed. See also the opinion of President Jefferson, Vol. 2, American State Papers.

The Supreme Court of the United States in several cases, particularly in the case of U. S. *v.* D'Auterive, in which the letter of King Louis XV to D'Abbadie in regard to the Treaty of Fontainebleau, is recited, has held that after the 3d of November, 1762, a grant of land made by the French authorities is void, and that the act of the French officers must be regarded as wholly unauthorized and inoperative to vest any title, those acts being inconsistent with the existing relations between the Kingdoms of France and Spain. (See U. S. *v.* D'Auterive, 10 Howard, 609.)

As early as the first of April, 1802, President Jefferson wrote a letter directed to Mr. Livingston, our Minister to Paris, urging him to take steps for the acquisition of Louisiana as it would give us a free access to the ocean through the Mississippi, in which he said: "There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market, and from its fertility it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce, and contain more than half of our inhabitants." After the confirmation of

the Treaty on November 1st, 1803, he said in a letter of that date to Dupont de Nemours: "The treaty which has so happily sealed the friendship of our two countries has been received here with general acclamation. For myself and my country I thank you for the aid you have given it, and I congratulate you upon having lived to give those aids in a transaction replete with blessings to unborn millions of men." Dupont was a distinguished statesman and scientist of France, and a personal friend of Mr. Jefferson, who had rendered our country much service in the negotiation of the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1782. He afterwards became a citizen of the United States, and was the grandfather of our own Admiral Dupont, who commanded the flagship of the Pacific Squadron at the commencement of the war with Mexico.

In a subsequent letter to Mr. Livingston, written in December, 1803, Mr. Jefferson said that "France and Spain must settle their own difficulties in their own way themselves," that he had four days ago given orders to General Wilkerson and the Governor of Mississippi, to move down the troops at hand to New Orleans, and to receive possession from Lausat, the then Colonial Prefect of New Orleans, and that "if he is not disposed to give possession, we shall take possession." And on December 20th, 1803, Lausat gave possession to Governor Wilkerson and Governor Claiborne. Formal possession was taken of Upper Louisiana at St. Louis in March, 1804, from Don Carlos Dehault Delassus by General Stoddard. The Spanish officers were still in command, because there had not at that time been a formal surrender by Spain to France under the Treaty of St. Ildefonso, and Spain had protested against the treaty of 1803.

There was at that time no formal occupancy, by any power, of the territory on the Pacific coast; so that early in the spring of 1804, under the authority of an act of Congress, the passage of which had been asked by the president, he sent an expedition under the command of his private secretary, Meriwether Lewis, to explore the sources of the Missouri river and the country beyond the Rocky mountains to the Pacific coast. He and his colleague performed that duty with signal fidelity

and zeal, and have given an account of the expedition in a book published in 1814, which is doubtless familiar to all present. They arrived in St. Louis in the fall of 1803, but the Spanish authorities being still in command,* they were forbidden to undertake the expedition up the Missouri, and so they wintered at the mouth of Wood river just below Alton and opposite the then mouth of the Missouri, until after possession was given to General Stoddard, and on the 14th of May, 1804, they embarked on the expedition.†

This is the territory which was acquired partly by purchase from France, and partly by discovery of Capt. Gray, exploration by Lewis and Clark and settlement by John Jacob Astor,—embracing at this day the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Kansas (except a small portion of that State south of the Arkansas river), Nebraska, Colorado (except the portion of that State which lies south of the Arkansas river, and the extreme western portion of the State, west of the Rocky Mountains, on the waters of the Colorado), Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming (except the southwest corner), North and South Dakota, the larger part of Minnesota, Iowa, the two Territories,—Oklahoma and the Indian Territory,—and our own Missouri, the grandest of them all, fifteen States and two Territories; a region of country embraced in a boundary commencing at the mouth of the Sabine river, along the western borders of that stream to the 32d parallel of north latitude, thence to the sources of the Arkansas, thence north to the 42d parallel, and thence west on that parallel across the mountains to the shores of the peaceful ocean, north to the 49th degree which divides us from the British possessions by the Treaty of 1849 east to the headwaters of the Mississippi, and

* It was not until February 10th, 1804, that Spain through its Minister of State, Don Pedro Cavallos formally withdrew her opposition to the cession of Louisiana by France, in a communication from him to our minister to Spain, Mr. Pinckney.

† The mouth of the Missouri river is now fully three miles below the mouth of Wood river; Lewis and Clark were careful to make their encampment on the eastern side of the Mississippi, until possession was delivered by Spain, because they were clearly then on our own territory.

thence north along the middle of the main channel of that majestic stream to the 31st degree of north latitude, thence east to the Perdido river, and down that stream to the Gulf of Mexico. This is all ours and St. Louis is the metropolis of this vast Empire; this land which the prophetic vision of the sage of Monticello saw peopled with millions then unborn, and now containing a population of more than 12,500,000 inhabitants.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

ENDING APRIL 1ST, 1897.

ST. ANGE MEMORIAL TABLET.

ON THIS SITE
JAN. 21, 1766,
IN THE HOUSE OF
MAXENT, LACLEDE, & CO.
CIVIL GOVERNMENT WAS FIRST
ESTABLISHED IN ST. LOUIS.
BY
CAPT. LOUIS ST. ANGE DE BELLERIVE
(DIED DEC. 27, 1774)
MILITARY COMMANDANT
AND ACTING GOVERNOR OF
UPPER LOUISIANA.

(BRONZE.)

The Current Topics Section of the Wednesday Club erected in 1895, on the west side of Main street, between Market and Walnut streets, the above Tablet, which has been presented to the Society by the section for permanent care.

Chouteau, Pierre, St. Louis, Silk Banner, made by the ladies of St. Louis, used in the anniversary celebration of the

founding of St. Louis, February 15th, 1847, preserved by the Chouteau family, presented to the Society on the fiftieth anniversary of that occasion, handsomely framed.

Letter of John F. Darby, date February 16th, 1847, presenting above banner to Col. Pierre Chouteau.

Directory of 1847 containing full account of the celebration of 1847.

A.

Adams, Mrs. Blennerhasset, St. Louis, 3 vols., 1 photograph.
Appleton, Wm. S., Boston, 1 vol.
Argentine Geographical Institute, Buenos Ayres, 1 pamphlet.
Ass'n, Descendants of Capt. Thos. Munson, 1 pamphlet.

B.

Baulch, John J., St. Louis, 1 pamphlet.
Berchoud, Edward L., Golden, Col., 1 pamphlet.
Boyce, Joseph, 5 vols.
Broadhead, Col. Jas. O., St. Louis, 1 manuscript.
Broadhead, Prof. G. C., Columbia, Mo., 1 pamphlet, 1 manuscript.
Brower, Hon. J. V., St. Paul, 1 vol., 7 stone implements.
Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1 vol. and miscellaneous papers.
Bushnell, D. I., Jr., 1 pamphlet, 6 photographs.

C.

Chicago Academy of Science, Chicago, 1 pamphlet.
Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, 1 pamphlet.
Conway, Rev. J. J., S. J., 1 manuscript.
Crosby, Ben. L., Bank of the U. S. check.
Curtis, H. H., St. Louis, 1 newspaper, 1 Jenny Lind Concert programme.

D.

Davis, Horatio N., St. Louis, piece of furniture.
De Menil, Alex. N., St. Louis, current file, *The Hesperian*.
Douglas, A. E., New York, N. Y., 1 pamphlet.

E.

Engineer's Club, St. Louis, 2 pamphlets.
Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., 3 pamphlets.

F.

Field Columbian Museum, Chicago, 1 pamphlet.
Filley, Giles F., St. Louis, miscellaneous papers.

H.

"Hazenstab," St. Louis, 2 photographs.
Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati, 2 pamphlets.
Historical Society of Oberpfalz and Regensburg, 1 vol.
Hoar, George F., 1 pamphlet.
Home of the Friendless, St. Louis, 1 pamphlet.

I.

Indian Rights Association, Philadelphia, 18 pamphlets.
Iowa Historical Department, Des Moines, 3 pamphlets.

K.

Kargau, E. D., St. Louis, 1 vol., 1 manuscript.
Knapp, George & Co., St. Louis, current file *The Republic*.

L.

Lackawanna Institute of History and Science, Scranton, Pa., 3 pamphlets.
Lawrence, J. J., M. D., St. Louis, *Medical Brief.*
Library Company of Philadelphia, 1 pamphlet.
Lucas, J. B. C., St. Louis, $1,040 Confederate bills, Missouri Constitution of 1820.
L'Universite De Louvain, 1 pamphlet.

M.

Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, Winnipeg, 1 pamphlet.
Massachusetts Com'n'r of Public Records, Boston, 1 pamphlet.
Matthews, Mr. and Mrs. Leonard, St. Louis, framed photograph of the Second Presbyterian Church.
McCormick, Cyrus H., Chicago, 1 vol.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Lansing, 2 vols.
Minisink Valley Historical Society, Port Jarvis, N. Y., 1 pamphlet.
Missouri Geological Survey, 1 vol., 3 folios maps.
Missouri School for the Blind, 1 pamphlet.
Missouri State University, 1 pamphlet.
Montgomery Co. Historical Society, Norristown, Pa., 1 vol.
Moore, Clarence B., Philadelphia, 2 vols.
Morgan, George H., St. Louis, 11 vols.
Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union, 1 pamphlet.

N.

New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, 2 vols., 46 pamphlets.
New York Historical Society, New York, N. Y., 1 pamphlet.
New York (N. Y.) Public Library, 2 pamphlets.

O.

Oberlin College Library, Oberlin, O., 1 vol., 2 pamphlets.
Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Columbus, 2 pamphlets.
Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N. Y., 1 pamphlet.
O'Reilly, Dr. P. S., St. Louis, framed print of Daniel Boone.

P.

Petersen, Dr. C. A., St. Louis, 2 pamphlets.
Philadelphia Trades League, 1 vol.
Pocock, H. J., St. Louis, 1 vol.

R.

Rhode Island Historical Society, 1 pamphlet.
Royal Historical Society, London, 2 vols.

S.

Savage, George, Baltimore, papers relating to Gov. Reynolds.
Seever, William J., St. Louis, 3 vols., 12 pamphlets.
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 6 vols., 1 pamphlet.
Societe Imperiale Des Naturalistes du Moscow, 1 pamphlet.
Society of Friends, Philadelphia, 1 pamphlet.
Southern Historical Ass'n, Washington, 1 pamphlet.
Stevens, Dr. Chas. D., St. Louis, 1 framed newspaper.
St. Louis, Merchants Exchange, 1 vol.
Switzler, Col. Wm. T., Boonville, Mo., Boonville *Democrat*.
Syracuse (N. Y.) Central Library, 1 pamphlet.

T.

Trelease, Wm., St. Louis, 1 pamphlet.

U.

United States, 60 vols., 86 pamphlets, 9 folios maps.
University of New York, Albany, 2 pamphlets.

W.

West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Soc'y, 1 pamphlet.
Woodruff, Mrs. O., St. Louis, vest of the first police uniform of St. Louis.
Wyoming Commemorative Association, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 2 pamphlets.

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The Beginnings of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the Archdiocese of St. Louis, 1764-1776.

By REV. J. J. CONWAY, S. J.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF SAINT LOUIS, 1764–1776.

BY REV. J. J. CONWAY, S. J.

(Read before the Society March 11th, 1897.)

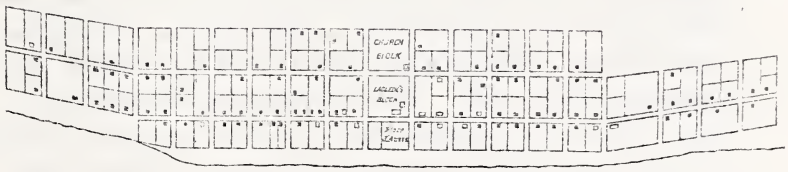
One of the most preliminary endeavors of the critical student of any organism, moral or physical, is to ascertain as approximately as he is permitted, to what generic system the species under observation is integral. This principle eminently simplifies research. For it reveals affinities, it affords impulse and guidance to investigation, and renders classification easy and intelligent. To this principle more, perhaps, than to any other source, are we to credit the copious, minute and lucid co-ordinations which in physical science we identify with the studies of botany, geology and zoology.

Applying this principle, therefore, to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised by the Ordinary of St. Louis over that part of the State of Missouri lying east of the Chariton river and east of the west lines of Cole, Maries, Pulaski, Texas and Howell counties; or referring it to the jurisdictional precedence of the Metropolitan Church of St. Louis over the suffragan Sees of Leavenworth, St. Joe, Kansas City, Wichita and Concordia, we experience at the outset no little dissatisfaction in determining the accurate bearings of the early genealogy of the Mother Church, if not her successive later kinships with the Sees of New Orleans, Bardstown, Baltimore, Havana and Santiago de Cuba. To begin with, the ecclesiastical historian is at a loss, for a moment, to know who was the first bishop of Saint Louis; or, to put it more correctly, he is at a loss to determine conclusively from whose jurisdiction the first priests in St. Louis derived their faculties to exercise spiritual functions here. The question is not as easy to answer as it at starting looks to be. Moreover, the answer to it is

very largely dependent upon a review of the acts of the two Vicars-General with whose missionary labors in this city and vicinity the beginnings of ecclesiastical jurisdiction are contemporary. Hence the study of these beginnings will lead me into repeated and perhaps lengthy digressions upon the labors and characters of these two pioneers who have been unaccountably but practically ignored by nearly all our local traditions and historians.

NO PRIEST PRESENT AT THE FOUNDING OF ST. LOUIS.

Col. Auguste Chouteau landed here on the 15th February, 1764. I believe he put up a couple of tool-bins and a few cattle sheds; but no dwellings, nor public buildings were erected until after the advent of Laclede. Laclede arrived at this place on the 15th of March, and forthwith began to lay



PLAT OF ST. LOUIS IN 1770.

out the ground, cleared by Chouteau, into streets and blocks. Now our story begins with this foundation of the city by Laclede, March 15th, 1764. For Scharf writes that "when Laclede and Chouteau arrived at the site of St. Louis in 1764, Father Meurin was stationed at Cahokia; that he crossed the river in a canoe, and having offered Mass in the forest, blessed the settlers and their work." But I am very much afraid that Scharf is here simply imagining things. For first of all, without emphasizing the obscurity which he creates as to whether the priest came with the one and then again with the other founder of St. Louis, or only with Laclede; he gives no references, and quotes no authority for these two statements. Secondly, and of a truth, Father Meurin was

not stationed at Cahokia, either on the 15th of February, when Chouteau landed here, or on the 15th of March following, when Laclede arrived at this place from Fort Chartres. The facts, on the contrary, are that, about the 15th of February, Father Meurin left New Orleans *en route* for Ste. Genevieve, and that about the 15th of March following he was at Post Arkança, an old mission station on the north bank of the river, and nearly opposite Watson, the present county seat of Desha County, Arkansas. Nor is the history of Father Meurin's presence in Arkansas at that time very difficult to trace. The Superior Council of Louisiana, emulating the anti-Jesuit zeal of the departmental parliaments of France, had on the 9th day of June, 1763, issued a decree suppressing the Society of Jesus in the province of Louisiana; confiscating its property; ordering the chapels and churches in its charge to be leveled to the ground, and the Fathers to be deported to France, each one to present himself to the Duc de Choiseul, the arch-enemy of the Order. This decree was read to FF. Watrin, Aubert and Meurin, then at Kaskaskia, on the morning of the 23d of September, 1763. They were thereupon expelled from their houses; their property was sold at auction, and towards the end of the month, they themselves were taken, under guard, to New Orleans. Most of them were shipped to France aboard the French frigate *Minerve* which left New Orleans the 6th February, 1764. Father Meurin pleaded earnestly to remain, and to be sent back to his missions of the Illinois. After much entreaty, and upon conditions to which I shall have to refer later, his prayer was granted; and a week or so after the departure of his brethren, that is somewhere near the date at which Chouteau began operations in St. Louis, this old priest — Father Meurin was then sixty-one years of age — was on his weary way up the Mississippi. I say that he must have left New Orleans about the middle of February; for the archives of the Station of the Arcança, now in the possession of the Bishop of Little Rock, state that Father Meurin baptized nine persons at that place on the 11th, and two on the 12th of March, 1764, that is, three days before he is said to have been at the

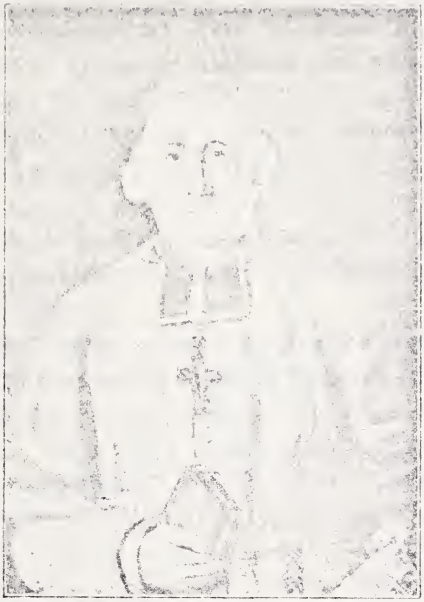
founding of St. Louis by Laclede. And I, of course, submit that it was impossible for him in those days, by any transportation, to reach this place from the mouth of the Arkansas, in three days. Father Meurin was not, therefore, with Laclede and Chouteau at the founding of St. Louis. Moreover, finally, the earliest record which we possess of the presence of Father Meurin, or of any other priest in St. Louis, goes no farther back than April or May, 1766. It is taken from the Cahokia baptismal register. In this record, Father Meurin states that in 1766 — month and day, he baptized, under condition, in a tent for want of a church, Marie lawful — of John Baptiste Deschamp and of Marie Pion, her father and mother — day of the month of September, 1765. He also states in the same place that he conferred the same sacrament upon Antoine, son of Lisette, a Pawnee slave, on the 9th of May of the same year. Mr. Shepard adds that the first marriage celebrated here was on the 20th of April, 1766, Toussaint Hanen and Marie Baugenon being the contracting parties. He quotes no authorities, however, and even if he did, this marriage, if it was contracted before Father Meurin, as in all likelihood it was, would simply establish the fact that Father Meurin's visit on this occasion began as early as April 20th, and was continued until at least May the 9th. It is possible, I will admit, that he visited St. Louis in the fall of 1764 and the spring of 1765, for he reached Ste. Genevieve about the beginning of May, 1764; and in his first letter to Mgr. Briand, Bishop of Quebec, he writes: "Ste. Genevieve is my residence, as it was stipulated in the conditions of my return to this country. From it I come every spring and visit the other villages for Eastertide. I return again in the autumn, and whenever I am summoned for sick calls. This is all my infirmities and my means enable me to do; and even this displeases and prejudices the people of Ste. Genevieve." But, while it is abstractly possible, I think it very unlikely that he visited this settlement before the spring of 1766. The records at Ste. Genevieve do not show that he did. The conditional baptism which he conferred on little

Marie Deschamps at his spring visit of 1766 indicates pretty satisfactorily that he had not been here since her birth the previous September, the autumn of 1765. There is even less reason for his having visited here in the fall of 1764. He had just returned to the Missions, after an absence of nearly a year, during which time the people of Ste. Genevieve, Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, and the camps of the Christian Indians on either side of the river had been without their usual religious ministrations. For an old man, therefore, he had his hands full where he was, without going a hundred miles away to look for work; the more so that his people at Ste. Genevieve were displeased at his brief missionary excursions across the river to Kaskaskia. These same considerations will account for his non-appearance here in the spring of 1765. In short, the fact that the records we possess of his visits to St. Louis are mostly all subsequent to his own removal to Cahokia, goes pretty nearly all the way to show that before he was settled at Cahokia, he had not visited St. Louis. But be these facts and reflections as they may, two conclusions appear to be definitely ascertained: that Father Meurin was not with Laclede and Chouteau at the founding of St. Louis, and that the first priestly functions exercised in St. Louis were those exercised here by Father Meurin between April 20th and May 9th, 1766.

FATHER MEURIN'S JURISDICTION.

It is interesting now to know from what source Father Meurin derived his jurisdiction, or his authority to exercise these spiritual functions in St. Louis. Had these functions been exercised here by him a year later, that is after June, 1767, this question could never have suggested itself. For, subsequently to that date, not even an apparent obscurity could have attached to the source of Father Meurin's spiritual jurisdiction in St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve, for the reason that in June, 1767, Mgr. Briand, Bishop of Quebec, in a letter to Father Meurin, clearly defined the limits of territory over which he constituted him his Vicar-General. But there is at

least an apparent obscurity affecting the source of Father Meurin's jurisdiction on the west bank of the Mississippi during the interval between 1764 and June, 1767. Yet there never existed, as I think it shall appear, any misgivings in Father Meurin's own mind as to the true source of his jurisdiction on the west bank of the Mississippi.



RT. REV. JEAN OLIVIER BRIAND, D. D., SEVENTH BISHOP OF QUEBEC (1766-1794).

Previously to his deportation to New Orleans, Father Meurin and every priest in the Mississippi Valley was under the Episcopal jurisdiction of the bishop of Quebec. During his detention in the South however, the country on both sides of the river had undergone a political change growing out of the issue of the French and Indian War. By the secret treaty of Fontainebleau, November 13th, 1762, France had meanwhile ceded to Spain all her possessions west of the Mississippi together with New Orleans and that portion of Louisiana south of the Iberville; and by the public treaty of Paris, February 10th, 1763, had ceded to England the remainder of her territory in North America, embracing the Canadas, Nova Scotia and everything east of the Mississippi and north of the Iberville. Now, while it is true that ecclesiastical changes are not necessarily a sequel to political vicissitudes, nevertheless both these transfers affected the ecclesiastical regimen of the country. This was due to the jealousy with which at that time, the states of Europe viewed the civil and denominational influence of the hierarchy. However, we are not aware of any complications growing out of

the cession to England and attributable to the religious enmity of the British government. Some awkward delay, it is true, was occasioned to the consecration of Mgr. Briand. But after his consecration, his Episcopal jurisdiction in the ample form conceded in Arts. 27–40 of the Articles of Capitulation between General Amherst and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, ratified by the Treaty of Paris, and secured in perpetuity by the Quebec Act of 1774, was everywhere recognized in what was formerly French dominion in North America. Moreover, the English authorities made no delay in occupying the conquered territory, and ecclesiastical organization in consequence remained pretty much as it had been on the east bank of the Mississippi.

But things were very much different on the west bank, within the newly acquired Spanish territory. Spain, to begin with, showed no haste in assuming control of the new province. This was a blunder, and one very much to be regretted. For meanwhile, the Superior Council of Louisiana upset things generally in the colony and lamentably crippled religion by exiling its missionaries and removing its legitimate authorities on the Upper and Lower Mississippi simply, it appears, to effect its own pretensions and to make place for creatures of its own appointment. As far as in its power, the Council eliminated all Episcopal jurisdiction, both in New Orleans and in the missions of the Illinois. The Vicar-General of New Orleans and the Lower Mississippi was at that time Fr. Beaudouin, of the Society of Jesus. He was degraded and told that his authority had been superseded by that of the Bishop of San Domingo. The Vicar-General in the Illinois country was Rev. Francis Forget-Duverger, of the Foreign Missions, and, at the time, also parish priest of Cahokia. When the Rev. M. Duverger saw the country ceded to England, and beheld French officials from New Orleans declaring war upon religion, seizing Church vestments and plate, and ordering the churches and chapels to be razed to the ground, he seems to have thought that all was lost, and that religion in Illinois was extinct. Without any authority from Quebec, he sold all the Church property at Cahokia, descended the Mississippi with

the Jesuit prisoners, and accompanied them to France, where we lose sight of him. But furthermore to complicate this chaotic condition of affairs, Fray Hilaire de Génovaux, Superior of the Capuchins in New Orleans, had, with the connivance, or at the impulse of the Superior Council, assumed the ecclesiastical headship of the colony. I say had "assumed," for the only, although remotely, plausible foundation for his claim was that in 1717 Mgr. de Mornay, while coadjutor and Vicar-General of Bishop de St. Vallier, second Bishop of Quebec, had sanctioned an agreement between the Capuchins and the Company of the West, in virtue of which de Mornay constituted the Superior of the Capuchins in New Orleans, his Vicar-General in perpetuity, and could appoint no other. Now, de Mornay himself set aside this agreement, upon his succession to the See of Quebec, at the death of de St. Vallier in 1727. He in fact made the Jesuit Superior, Fr. de Beaubois, his Vicar-General. The subsequent bishops of Quebec simply repudiated the agreement altogether. They could not as bishops, they declared, admit that the assent of de Mornay (who was at the time of the contract only a coadjutor and a Vicar-General, and moreover a prelate who never was a resident in the country), to an agreement between a trading company and his own Capuchin order, deprived every bishop of Quebec of the right to act as freely in Louisiana as in any other part of his diocese. Then again, no Capuchin had of a fact exercised the authority of Vicar-General in Louisiana since the resignation of Mgr. Dosquet, the immediate successor of de Mornay. The Vicars-General from 1739–1763 had been the Superiors of the Louisiana Jesuits; and at the time of which we are writing, this authority vested in Father Michel de Beaudouin, by a most explicit letter of Appointment from Mgr. de Pontbriand, on April 29th, 1857, and had not been revoked or superseded, since the bishop's death in 1760, by a new appointment by the Chapter of Quebec. Fr. de Beaudouin, on account of his great age — he was seventy-two — and his American nativity — he was born in New Orleans — was not shipped with his brethren to France. He was outlawed, it is true, by the ecclesias-

tical usurpations of the Council, and living during this crisis in retirement with his friend, M. Etienne de Boré,— the grandfather, by the way, of Chas. Gayarre, the brilliant historian of Louisiana — but he was actually in the province and the vicinity, and therefore the *de facto* and *de jure* Vicar-General, until the arrival of the Spanish bishop or his Vicar-General. But, finally, granting even that the powers claimed by Fray de Génovaux were legitimate, in virtue of the long repudiated act of de Mornay — for it is understood that the Council could delegate to him no spiritual powers — his jurisdiction would have been that which the Capuchins originally claimed. Now their powers of Vicar-General did not, at any time, extend to the Upper Mississippi, and, in consequence, Fray de Génovaux's assumed jurisdiction could delegate no authority to exercise any spiritual function in Upper Louisiana or in the new settlement of St. Louis.

This, therefore, was the state of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Spanish dominions when Father Meurin set out on his return to the missions of the Illinois. There was apparently no ecclesiastical authority on the Upper Mississippi. Returning thither, accordingly, Father Meurin would have been, naturally, quite solicitous to make sure of his faculties, or his powers to exercise the ministry there. But where was he to secure these faculties? His whilom superior at Kaskaskia, Father Watrin, and the last Vicar-General of the Seminary Priests, Rev. Duverger, had effectively abdicated their powers of Vicar-General, by leaving the country. Fray de Génovaux's authority was spurious. Father Beaudouin's jurisdiction never had extended to the Upper Mississippi. He could not communicate with the Bishop of Quebec. The See was vacant. The Vicar-capitular and Bishop-elect was in Europe, he knew not where; and as to the Chapter of Quebec, perhaps, he being a religious, they did not know enough about him to trust him with faculties. On the other hand, he was aware that the west bank of the Mississippi, on which, by stipulation, he was to live, had passed under the dominion of Spain. And while he understood that the usurped ecclesiastical powers of the Council were null and void, yet the Council

had assured him, in writing, that the Superior of the Capuchins possessed and was to possess jurisdiction in the province, and that of this they were by the earliest opportunity to furnish him evidence. The Council further declared to him that Louisiana was no longer included in the diocese of Quebec. Nevertheless, he was determined to go back. The Council finally consented to his return provided he stipulated in writing that he would reside at Ste. Genevieve, and that he would recognize no other ecclesiastical superior than the Superior of the Capuchins at New Orleans. These stipulations Father Meurin signed, adding that if it pleased the Sovereign Pontiff to confer Jurisdiction on the most miserable negro, he would be as submissive to him as to the most deserving of bishops. It looked then very much as if he recognized the ecclesiastical supremacy of New Orleans. However,

before that Rev. gentleman sailed for Europe, Father Meurin had obtained from Rev. M. Duverger a verbal renewal of the faculties which he had formerly exercised upon the Illinois Missions. I have not seen it anywhere so stated, but I am morally certain that he likewise secured a renewal of these same former faculties from his old Superior, Father Watrin, who was Vicar-General for the Jesuits in Illinois, as Rev. M. Duverger was for all other clergymen in these parts. These things being so, Father Meurin returned to the Upper Mississippi furnished with all the Jurisdiction there was to be had in New Orleans for the Illinois Missions.

He settled at Ste. Genevieve, but visited the villages across the river. Thus, we find him at Kaskaskia in June and July, 1765. It is in connection with this visit to Kaskaskia, that John Gilmary Shea subjoins the following observation: "Meurin soon became convinced that he had been imposed upon at New Orleans; for early in 1765 he records the church and parish as in the province of Quebec." This statement is

misleading. Meurin, it is true, both in September, 1764, and July, 1765, records the church and parish of Kaskaskia as in the diocese of Quebec. But of this he could surely never have entertained any doubt, as Kaskaskia was on the east bank of the Mississippi. So that if he had been imposed upon at New Orleans, he must have remained a victim to this deception until June, 1767.

But Father Meurin was certainly not imposed upon at New Orleans. On the contrary, however things may have appeared to others, he himself understood definitely enough, even from the start, to whose jurisdiction he really pertained. He was as perfectly aware as of an admitted premise that a political change did not necessarily infer a transfer of ecclesiastical dominion. If then a change of religious masters was, as in this instance, to follow the cession of political supremacy, such change must be previously intimated from legitimate sources before acts and functions exercised in virtue of the old jurisdiction ceased to be valid. It is urged that he knew of the treaties of Fontainebleau and of Paris; that in virtue of these treaties there was to be a transfer from French to Spanish churchmen; that the Council, charged, as it gave out, with the conduct of affairs until the actual transfer was effected, was empowered meanwhile to legislate for Church and State; that it could, accordingly, appoint its own Vicars-General and delegate jurisdiction how and to whom it saw fit. But granting these conjectures what little possibility they might have, there still remain these facts and principles. In the event of the approval by the Holy See of an ecclesiastical, simultaneous with a civil, change of base in Louisiana, Rome would have provided — as in the event it did — that jurisdiction remain where it had been, until the actual transfer of the province to San Domingo or to some other Spanish See had taken place. If, however, it had instituted a change, that change would have been either the erection of an Episcopal See in New Orleans, or the constitution of a Vicar-Apostolic, or the appointment of a Vicar-General holding under the Chapter at Quebec, the See, at that time, being vacant. But in any case, the Holy See would have, immediately by Brief, or mediately through

the French or Spanish court, intimated any such change or appointment to the ecclesiastical authorities concerned. Under no consideration would the Court of Rome have acted in the manner pretended by the Superior Council of Louisiana. Moreover, if the ecclesiastical rulings of the Council and of de Génovaux were to be later sanctioned, and to be understood as Canonical by Quebec, why was Father Meurin required to promise in writing that he would not communicate either with Rome or with Quebec? This requisition alone would have destroyed all the faith or certainty we may conjecture him to have had in the ligitimacy of the Council's and the Capuchins' powers. Finally, he took with him from Rev. M. Duverger the faculties he formerly possessed in the Illinois country. These were, of course, the Quebec faculties. He could not, therefore, as Mr. Shea assumes, have been imposed upon at New Orleans. Nay, furthermore, that Father Meurin, even at this date, understood that he was under the jurisdiction of Quebec and not of New Orleans, there can be no doubt whatever.

In his first letter to Mgr. Briand, after enumerating his missions of Fort Chartres, Prairie du Rocher, Kaskaskia and Cahokia on the English side of the river, and of Ste. Genevieve, La Saline, The Mines, and St. Louis on the Spanish side, he continues: "The families here join me in beseeching you to send them two or three, if you cannot spare, four or five priests, one of them with the title of Vicar-General of Your Lordship." In this letter, written from Kaskaskia, and therefore, in his capacity and right, received through his faculties from Rev. Duverger, of priest of the diocese of Quebec — a capacity and right which, of course, his promise to the Superior Council could not neutralize nor annul — he asks the Bishop of Quebec to appoint a Vicar over all these missions, without discriminating between the English and Spanish side of the river. But to offset this, it is said — and it is true — that he also wrote to Fray Dagobert, the successor to de Génovaux, to send him priests. But this communication does now show that Father Meurin recognized Dagobert's jurisdiction over him. That same year he wrote to every

source from which he hoped to secure priests for the Illinois missions. He wrote to the Jesuit Fathers in Maryland, to the Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, agent of the Canadian Missions, in Paris; he had an aide-de-camp of General Gage to write to Father Harding, Superior of the Jesuits in Philadelphia; he himself wrote to the other Capuchins in New Orleans — there were no other priests in that city at the time — and surely nobody imagines that he looked upon all these correspondents as his ecclesiastical superiors. Besides, the Bishop of Quebec was the only one whom he requested to send a Vicar-General into these parts, a request he could not have made to him alone, had he any doubts about that prelate's jurisdiction over the west bank of the Mississippi. I am aware, however, that it is more generally and more credulously assumed that he was possessed of a twofold jurisdiction: one from New Orleans, through Fray de Génovaux, for the Spanish bank, another from Quebec, through Rev. Duverger or his own superior, for the English side of the Mississippi. But Canon Law and the facts in the premises upset this assumption. For, as I reasoned above, Fray de Génovaux and his successor Dagobert could, to Father Meurin's certain knowledge, exercise no jurisdiction on the Upper Mississippi before 1772 or 1776, the year in which, probably, the ecclesiastical transfer of Louisiana was made from the diocese of Quebec to that of Santiago de Cuba. He could, then, delegate no valid jurisdiction to Father Meurin for St. Louis when that Father left New Orleans in the winter of 1764. Finally, and on the supposition even that Dagobert before 1772 or 1776, (when he was recognized for one year possibly as Vicar-General of the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba), had any valid jurisdiction at all, it could have been that jurisdiction only which the superior of the Capuchins possessed in virtue of the agreement between Mgr. de Mornay and the Company of the West; and that jurisdiction was the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec, but only for the Lower Mississippi. All this Father Meurin could not but have known perfectly well. Hence, look at it as we will, the jurisdiction which Father Meurin possessed when he returned to the Illinois

Missions in 1764, and which he exercised for the first time in St. Louis in April or May, 1766, was not a twofold jurisdiction, but a single jurisdiction emanating from Quebec, and delegated to him from his former religious superior, Watrin, or from the former Vicar-General, Duverger, or, as is most probable, from both, as the Vicars-General of the Bishop of Quebec.

FATHER MEURIN, FIRST VICAR-GENERAL FOR ST. LOUIS.

Father Meurin was in St. Louis again in May, June, August and September, 1767. He returned again in May, 1768, by which time all doubt, if any was ever entertained by him, of the source of his jurisdiction in St. Louis, was authoritatively removed. He had meanwhile written, as I said above, to the new Bishop of Quebec, Mgr. Briand, from Kaskaskia, March 23d, 1767, asking him for priests and a Vicar-General. The Bishop replied on the 6th of June, 1767, saying: "I send you very ample letters of Vicar-General. You will use them wherever you may be in that extensive part of my diocese, the limits of which are immense, and which I myself do not know. It is at least certain that they extend to all the territories which the French possessed in North America." On August 7th, 1767, in what is known as the "Kaskaskia Pastoral," Mgr. Briand confirms these powers of Vicar-General to Father Meurin, explains to him that they are valid in the Mississippi, from Michilimacinac on the north, to New Orleans on the south, and in virtue of them, orders him to proclaim a Jubilee on either bank of the Mississippi. These documents, accordingly, determine the ecclesiastical affinities of the new missionary station of Pain Court or St. Louis. I call it station for there was no church in the village prior to 1770. Billon states that services were held here under a tent until 1768. It may be that after 1768 Father Meurin said mass and exercised his other ministrations in the private dwelling in which he resided during his visits here. For Billon himself writes later that the first church, a tiny log affair, was blessed by Vicar-General Gibault, June 24th, 1770. Father

Meurin had evidently set the building of it in motion at his last visit to St. Louis in September, 1769, and it was put up during the following winter or spring.

These letters of Mgr. Briand to Father Meurin render it very clear that the earliest source of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in St. Louis was Quebec, whose Vicars-General in the Mississippi Valley were Rev. MM. Forget-Duverger, 1764–1758; Laurens, 1758–1739; Mercier, 1739–1728; Thaumur de la Source, 1728–1718; Mgr. Varlet, later on excommunicated as the

THE FIRST CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ST. LOUIS, BUILT 1770.

Jansenist Bishop of Babylon, 1718–1712; and, after a vacancy of two years, Rev. MM. Bergier, 1710–1701; de Montigny, 1701–1698;—the year the priests of the Foreign Missions came into the Valley,—and previously to their advent, the Superiors of the Jesuit Missions in the Illinois: FF. Gravier, 1698–1690; Claude Allouez, 1690–1676; and Father James Marquette, the discoverer of the Mississippi, 1676–1674. All these Vicars-General—with the exception of Rev. M. Bergier and the Jansenist Varlet, who spent most of their time at Mobile, and Father Marquette, who was never resident in the Valley—lived at Cahokia, in the Illinois bottoms.

Father Meurin exercised the authority of Vicar-General from June or August, 1767, to the midsummer of 1769. But

it was exercised over no clergyman, unless we say over himself; for from September 10th, 1765, to September 8th, 1768, he was the only priest between the great lakes and New Orleans. After his appointment he continued to reside at Ste. Genevieve until he published the Jubilee, proclaimed by Mgr. Briand on his accession to the See of Quebec. He then removed to Kaskaskia, and a year later to Cahokia, where he continued to reside as pastor until his death in 1777. The occasion of his removal from Ste. Genevieve illustrates the feeling existing between the east and west bank of the Mississippi in those days. Upon the publication of the Jubilee, de Rochblave, Commandant at Ste. Genevieve, asked him by what authority he proclaimed the Jubilee, and on whom he depended. Father Meurin replied that he did it by order of the Bishop of Quebec, whose Vicar-General he was. De Rochblave then said to him: "I recognize no English bishop here, and in a post where I command I wish no ecclesiastical jurisdiction recognized except that of the Archbishop of San Domingo." A decree was at once issued proscribing Father Meurin, and orders were given for his arrest as a State criminal for recognizing a jurisdiction not admitted by Spain. A friend, however, apprised Father Meurin of his danger, and he crossed the river to Kaskaskia, took the oath of fidelity as a former resident of the Illinois country, and was thus secured from Spanish persecution.

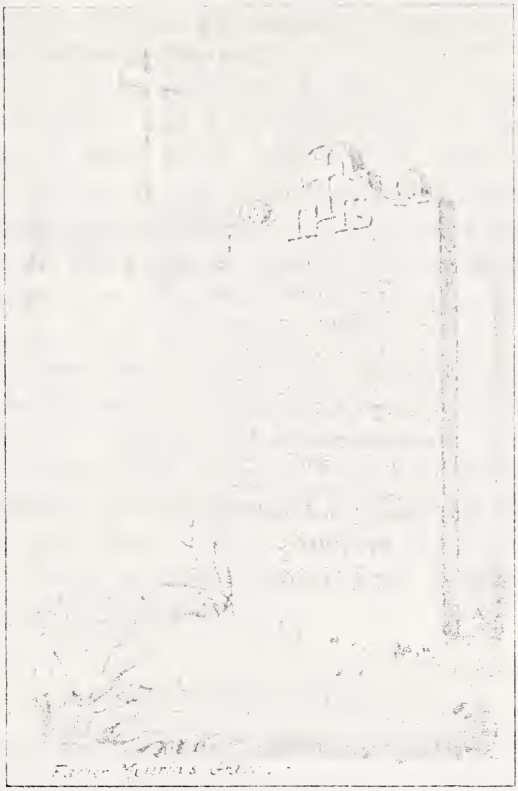
He remained at Kaskaskia until the arrival of the priest he expected from Quebec. This priest came in September, 1768, and Father Meurin assigned him to Kaskaskia. He had many reasons for this. The people of Kaskaskia, who were of the party of the Superior Council of New Orleans, disliked Father Meurin because he was a Jesuit, and he could, therefore, do nothing with them. Besides, Kaskaskia was better able to support a pastor than any of the other towns. Finally, it was in the neighborhood of Ste. Genevieve, Fort Chartres, Prairie du Rocher, La Saline and the Mines, and should have a young and active pastor who would care for all these places. He then retired, himself, to Cahokia. Here he confined himself to his semi-annual

visits to St. Louis; to his parish at Cahokia, or "Cohos" or "Cauhow," as it was called in the American jargon of the day; to the Indians and farmers in the bottoms, on whom he made his regular calls in his cumbersome old *calêche*, whenever the roads and his growing infirmities permitted.

JESUIT CEMETERY, NOVITIATE, FLORISSANT, WHERE FATHER MEURIN IS BURIED.

He sometimes went to Prairie du Rocher or Parra di Rushi, as Genl. Clarke's Long Knives used to call the place, and a few times too the old man would steal down to Ste. Genevieve to see his old parishioners. For fear of arrest, however, he would enter the place at night, and usually staid with some members of the Valleé family, his great friends, among whom

I have no doubt it is possible to find some relic of this old pioneer. In the summer of 1769, the Bishop, at Father Meurin's request, transferred the Vicar-Generalship to his young missionary companion. This was necessary. Father Meurin had always been an invalid, and now his strength and



FATHER MEURIN'S GRAVE.

memory were failing fast. Besides, he was in his seventieth year, and too old to see to the proper well-being of the scattered and very distant missions of the Illinois. And yet, as if to crown the hardships of his life of sacrifice, in 1774 the brief of Clement XIV, suppressing his Order, was announced to him from New Orleans. The old man's letter to Mgr. Briand, after receiving this news, is really touching: "Now,

left to myself, I would beseech and beg your charitable goodness to be a father to me, and to admit me absolutely among the members of your clergy, instead of an auxiliary as I have been since February 1, 1742. I should deem myself happy, if, in the little of life left to me, I could repair the cowardice and negligence of which I have been guilty in the space of thirty-three years. If you will adopt me, I am sure you will pardon me and ask mercy for me."

He died on a visit to Prairie du Rocher, which he used to attend from Cahokia, and was buried there in the parish church, February 23rd, 1777. His remains were exhumed August 23rd, 1849, by the Rt. Rev. James O. Van de Velde, S. J., the second bishop of Chicago, and reinterred September 3rd, 1849, amidst those of his religious brethren, in the Community Cemetery at St. Stanislaus Novitiate, Florissant, Mo. Father Meurin was born in February, 1700; came to Canada in 1736; was sent upon the missions of the Mississippi in 1742, where he labored for thirty-five years, to the advanced age of seventy-six. A large and well-preserved collection of his edifying letters in the original French is preserved at Quebec, and among the collections of the Missouri Historical Society. But apart from isolated extracts from them to be found in the works of John Gilmary Shea, none of these letters exist in an English translation.

FATHER PIERRE GIBAULT.

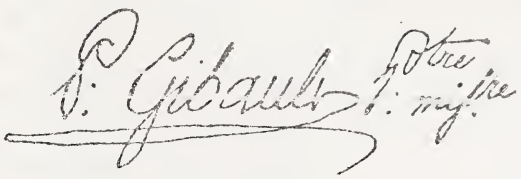
Father Meurin had asked Mgr. Briand to send him priests. The first and, in fact, the only fruit of this request was Rev. Pierre Gibault, the Patriot Priest of the West. A study of the rise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in St. Louis would remain very incomplete without some appreciation of the life and character of one who did so gigantic work for the Church in the West. He added an empire to our State; and yet he is a man to whom, notwithstanding his eminent merits, the Church, the country, even history, have done, in return, little or the barest justice. "To him next to Clarke and Vigo," says Judge John Law in his History of Vincennes, "the United States are more

indebted for the accession of the States comprised in what was the original Northwestern Territory than to any other man." And yet, "as far as we are advised, no county," to quote Mr. English in his Conquest of the Northwest, "no town, no post-office, not even an alleyway in St. Louis, Vincennes or Indianapolis, no monument has been erected to his memory," not even a headstone marks his grave, so completely has he passed out of the thoughts of men. "It was well for him," writes Mr. English, "that he could turn to the religion of which he had been so faithful a servant and find consolation in the trust that there was a heaven, where meritorious deeds such as his find reward, since they were so poorly appreciated and requited on earth."

FATHER GIBAULT.

Pierre Gibault, son of Pierre Gibault and Marie St. Jean, was born at Montreal, April 7th, 1737. I am not sure where his elementary studies were pursued. Possibly in his own district school in Montreal, inasmuch as at that time no discrimination on the part of the Church existed between the state and parish schools. His classics were acquired at the Seminary of Quebec, from whose literary courses he graduated about the age of twenty-four. Like most young Canadians of that time, Gibault left school for the woods and the prairies of the West. He spent some years — probably three or four — we are told, in this western world; but where, exactly, I am not clear enough to say. He had a married sister at Kaskaskia and a brother in the English garrison at Vincennes at the time that these posts were captured by Col. Clarke, in 1778. But whether they were at these places fourteen or fifteen years previously, and whether he stayed out here with them I could not say. I have in fact seen no sure grounds for stating what his object was in coming West after his studies. It is certain, however, that he returned to Quebec in 1764 or 1765, and that he was ordained in that city, by Mgr. Briand, on March 19th, 1768. He remained at the

cathedral until the end of spring, and then left for the Illinois Missions. He followed the Ottawa trail, going around by Michilimacinac, where he spent a week hearing confessions, baptizing, revalidating marriages and attending to a hundred cares which had been neglected ever since the last pastor of the place, Father Lefranc, had been driven from the mission by the English, in 1761. For in Article 33, of the Articles of Capitulation agreed upon between England and France at Montreal in 1762, the English authorities peremptorily refused to permit the Jesuits to maintain their Indian missions. Father Gibault left Mackinac at the opening of summer and descending by the Marquette-Allouez route—Green Bay, the Fox and Wisconsin rivers — to the Mississippi, he reached Kaskaskia by water in September, 1768. For his bold and characteristic signature appears upon its registers under date of September 8th, 1768, as Parish Priest of Kaskaskia.



FATHER GIBAULT PARISH PRIEST OF KASKASKIA.

Kaskaskia was then at its zenith, or to employ the extravagant comparison of Gov. John Reynolds in his Pioneer History of Illinois, "Kaskaskia was then to Illinois what Paris is at this day to France — the great emporium of fashion, gayety and happiness." It contained between 1,500 and 2,000 inhabitants, all, if not indeed all, Catholics, although a very sorry sort of Catholics. The women — there as almost everywhere — better, of course, than the men, were not so sadly lacking in their duties to God and their Church. But the men — all Frenchmen — proverbially therefore angels or devils — were not, I am afraid, angels, at least all of them. For Pere Gibault, no more than Abraham in the City of the Plain, could not find ten just men in Kaskaskia. At all events, he could not find ten who had been to their religious duties

for the last four or five years, which, certainly, was a very poor index of their godliness.

But Father Gibault did not shrink from the task of reforming Kaskaskia. This we easily gather from the toilsome ordeal of his apostolate. Writing to Mgr. Briand from Vincennes in 1786, whither he had removed as pastor in 1785, he says: "I give the boys and girls an instruction twice a day: after mass, and in the evening before sunset. After each instruction, I send the girls home and make the boys repeat the responses of the mass and the ceremonies of the Church for Sundays and holydays. I preach too on these days as often as I can." This was the same plan and method which he had pursued at Kaskaskia; only that at Kaskaskia, he gave special catechetical instructions to the congregation four times a week, over and above preaching as often as he could on Sundays and holydays. Now to preach a decent sermon but twice on every Sunday and holyday upon the Canadian Calendar of that time, was a matter that called for considerable brains, great zeal, and a fund of personal piety and self-sacrifice. And if, moreover, we will reflect that this priest was forever afoot in a hundred directions, it called for industry, much meditation, and a miserly husbanding of time, to preach the sermons that Father Gibault did preach and as often as his Calendar required him to preach them. For, besides the fifty-two Sundays of the year, the holydays of obligation in Canada were very numerous. By an official act of Bishop Laval, the first Bishop of Quebec, in 1694, the same holydays were made obligatory in all the French settlements in Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, Louisiana and the country west of the Mississippi, until that territory, passing under Spanish domination, was, about 1776, reclaimed as part originally of the diocese of Santiago de Cuba, in virtue of De Soto's exploration of the Mississippi. These holydays were those of the reformed Calendar of Urban VIII., and included The Feast of the Circumcision, January 1st; The Epiphany, January 12th; Candlemas Day, February 2d; The Feasts of St. Mathias, February 24th; of St. Joseph, March 19th; of the Annunciation, March 25th; of St. Michael,

May 8th; of St. John the Baptist, June 24th; of St. Bartholomew, August 24th; of St. Louis, August 26th; of The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, September 8th; of St. Mathew, September 24th; of SS. Simon and Jude, October 28th; of All Saints, November 1st; of St. Andrew, November 30th; of St. Francis Xavier, December 3d; of the Immaculate Conception, December 8th; of St. Thomas, December 21st; of St. Stephen, December 26th; of St. John the Evangelist, December 28th; besides, Christmas Day, Easter Monday and Tuesday, Ascension Day, Whitsun Monday and Tuesday, Corpus Christi, The Titular Saint of the Cathedral of Quebec and the Patronal Feast of the Parish of Kaskaskia. But Father Gibault was equal to the ceaseless task, and that he did his work well, the result amply declares. For by Easter, 1769, he brought nearly all the Kaskaskians to their duties — the French folks of the town, the Indians camped up the river, and all the Catholics of the 18th Royal Irish Dragoons in barracks at Kaskaskia.

FATHER GIBAULT'S MISSIONARY TRAVELS.

But Father Gibault's zeal was not confined to Kaskaskia. Between September, 1768, and February, 1770, he had crossed the river to Ste. Genevieve, visited La Salines, Old Mines, and on the east side Fort Chartres, St. Philip, Prairie du Rocher, the Indian camps and Creole farmers scattered up and down the Mississippi as far as Prairie du Rocher. In the winter of 1770 he inaugurated that long series of missionary excursions which have made him famous as the Stout Priest of the West. Early in February, 1770, he traveled to Vincennes. That post had not seen a priest since their pastor, Father Duvernay, was carried to New Orleans in 1763. This will explain the reception which they gave to Pere Gibault. "On my arrival," he writes to Mgr. Briand, June 15th, 1770, "all crowded down to the banks of the Wabash to receive me. Some fell on their knees, unable to speak: others could speak only in sobs. Some cried out to me, 'Father, save us, we are almost in hell;' others kept repeat-

ing, 'God has not abandoned us, for he has sent you to us to make us do penance for our sins;' others in tears kept asking me: 'Oh, sir, why did you not come sooner, my poor wife, or my dear father, or my dear mother, or my poor child would not have died without the sacraments.'" Father Gibault remained two weeks at Vincennes. On his return to Kaskaskia, he visited the newly arrived Spanish Commandant at Ste. Genevieve, and Lieut.-Gov. de Piernas, in St. Louis. The Spaniards came to these posts unattended by clergymen. Father Gibault continued, therefore, to visit Ste. Genevieve and promised de Piernas to include St. Louis in his missions. In 1775, he made a second visit to Vincennes. He was then on his way to Canada; and on his route tarried among the Indian camps on the Wabash, the Peoria and St. Joseph rivers. On his return from Canada, he was unable to get around by Mackinac, where he was therefore detained from November to December 3d, 1775. He retraced his steps to Detroit, helping in that city until late spring enabled him to resume the trail to the West. On February 23d, 1777, he buried old Father Meurin, in St. Joseph's church at Prairie du Rocher, and remained, himself, from that time until 1788 the only member of his calling within the broad domain of the Illinois Missions. In 1778 he was sent by Col. Geo. Rogers Clarke to Vincennes, to win that people over to the American cause. It took him just three days to conquer this English stronghold on the Wabash and the key to the situation in the West. He captured it not by fire and sword, but by the well-known disinterestedness of his personal character, his long proved zeal for the people's true welfare, and the eloquent voice of his patriotism. He visited the place again in 1779, when he spent between three weeks and a month there; sometimes at the Post itself but the greater part of the time along the headwaters of the Wabash among the Weas, Piankeshaws, Peorias, Miamies and a hundred other nations constituting the once famous League of the Wabash. The League had been the ally of England against France. Gibault succeeded in securing its allegiance to Clarke and the Commonwealth of Virginia. Father Gibault's time between

1779–1785 was occupied at home, from Kaskaskia to Cahokia. During this period it is assumed by some that he visited the various groups of Indian fires south of Green Bay and clustered about the base of Lake Michigan, comprising the Chipaways, Ottawas, Pottawattomies, Musessogies, Puans, Sacks and Foxes, Sayges, Tauways and Maumies. This, however, is but a plausible conjecture.

Up to this time Father Gibault's headquarters had been Kaskaskia. But in 1785 he removed to Vincennes. Why I could not say certainly. But I would rationally conjecture that by the change he sought to live more central to his growing work in Illinois, without prejudice to the older parishes on the Mississippi. These could now be readily and regularly attended by the Spanish curates of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve, permitting Father Gibault to live nearer to the scattered portions of his flock in the northwest and north. He remained at Vincennes until the advent of Bishop Carroll's Vicar-General, Rev. Huet de la Valiniere, in 1788. After the advent of this clergyman, he retired for a year to Cahokia, and later, spending a brief space once more in Vincennes in 1789, he went back to Kaskaskia. He lived a year in Kaskaskia, and thence crossed the river to New Madrid. He was at New Madrid until the close of 1792, when he traveled south to Post Arkança. He was on the Mission of the Arkança a full year, leaving that post February 15th, 1793. He returned to New Madrid, where he died eleven years later, as assistant to the resident pastor, Rev. James Maxwell.

From this cursory glance at the missionary travels of Pere Gibault we see that the territory covered by his ministry was immense, considering the miserable facilities for transportation in those days. His powers of Vicar-General, in the first place, extended, like those of Meurin, from Mackinac on the north to New Orleans and Mobile on the south, and while his active ministrations did not, as far as we can gather, reach Mobile or New Orleans, they embraced all the old French forts and Indian missions, on the St. Joseph, in the vicinity of South Bend; Fort St. Louis and Fort Crêve Cœur, on the Illinois river; Ouiatenon and Fort Vincennes, on the Wabash; Post

Arkança, on the Arkansas; Fort Chartres, on the Mississippi; Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, La Salines, Old Mines, Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, St. Philip, Cahokia and all the Christian Indian camps that traversed the broad and luxuriant savannahs that reach out over the great commonwealths of

Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Kentucky, or were hidden within the pathless fastnesses of the somber timber vales of Michigan and Wisconsin. All this empire of then practically savage people he traveled time and time alone, now afoot, now in a *caléche* or cart, but ordinarily in canoes or a horseback, with the utensils of his sacred ministry in saddle-pouches

behind him, his gun across the saddle-bow, and a belt about his waist, with pistols and bowie-knife. For the frontier priest went armed. He lived on game, and, moreover, he might, at any moment, be called upon to defend himself against some wild beast, and always to protect himself against the otherwise unawed Indian thieves and murderers, as well as against the white ruffians who then infested as they do yet infest our Western frontier. And yet these extensive fields of labor exhibit but the time and space of his activity. They do not reveal the apostle; they do not tell us of his pains and hardships; they do not show what courage he possessed, how unselfish he was, and how unremitting he continued to be in the discharge of his arduous stewardship. He alone could say here what no other being but his God could know — what spirit animated all his life. And he has said one word. In it we read volumes of his worth. For his was the fate of all great men. He was slandered and accused of giving scandal. With honest indignation at the charge, he writes to his bishop: "How can I, in all the pains and hardships I have undergone in my different journeys, winter and summer, to points the most separated, attending so many villages, so distant from each other, in all weathers, night and day, snow or rain, wind, storm or fog on the Mississippi, so that I never slept four nights in a year in my own bed, never hesitating to start at a moment's notice whether sick or well; how, I ask, can a priest who sacrifices himself in this way with no other view than God's glory, and the salvation of his neighbor, with no pecuniary reward, almost always ill-fed, unable almost to attend to both spiritual and temporal; how, I again ask, can you know that such a priest, zealous to fulfill the duties of his holy ministry, careful to watch over his flock, to found them in the most important tenets of religion, to instruct the young unceasingly and untiringly, not only in Christian doctrine but in reading and writing; how can you know that he is one who gives or has given scandal to his people." These forced expressions of his own merits not merely uphold the integrity of his toilsome life, but they further establish its apostolic character.

FATHER GIBAULT, THE PATRIOT PRIEST OF THE WEST.

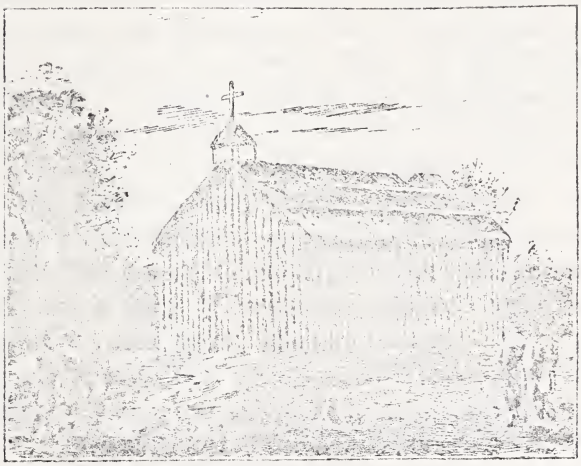
But Pere Gibault was not only an apostle. He was also an American Patriot. Next to the renown of his long and devoted missionary career, is the illustrious part which he took in the conquest of the Northwest Territory. I am not sure that Father Gibault had ever met an American, or as he was often then called, a Virginian, before he fell in with Col. Geo. Rogers Clarke. He was, however, acquainted with the causes and bearing of our struggle with England. He knew, too, of the attitude taken by France towards the colonies; and from Clarke's expressions in his memoirs, Father Gibault's sentiments were not unknown, although, so far, never publicly expressed.

He was at Kaskaskia the night of the 5th of July, 1778, when the town was surprised and taken by Col. Clarke. "The town," writes Col. Clarke, "was thrown into the wildest state of consternation and abject terror." Even Father Gibault was for a time at a loss to understand Clarke. Like his people, he had heard that all Americans were barbarians and savages. But he determined to call on the Colonel. A day or so, therefore, after the capture of the city, with five or six elderly gentlemen of Kaskaskia, he went to Clarke's quarters. But this visit did not reassure the Kaskaskians. "However shocked" continues Clarke, "they already were, the addition was obvious and great, when they entered the room where I was sitting with the other officers, all of us in a dirty, savage appearance, as we had left our clothes at the river, and we were almost naked, and much torn by the bushes and briers." Nothing, therefore, came of this visit, except that the Kaskaskians were permitted to go to their church. They returned later, however, and, through Father Gibault, admitted that their conduct had been influenced by their English commanders; that they misunderstood the nature of the American war; had little opportunity to inform themselves; "in short," says Clarke, "they said everything that sensible men in their alarming situation would advance * * * and this was the point I

wanted to bring them to. * * * I then asked them abruptly if they thought we were savages, come to war on women and children and the Church. It was," I went on, "to prevent the shedding of innocent blood by savages instigated by their English commanders, that we had come. I told them that the King of France had espoused the American cause, and that as regards their Church, all religions would be tolerated in America; that I had nothing to do with churches but to protect them from insult; and that to prove to them we were not savages and plunderers, they might return to their people and tell them that they might conduct themselves as usual; with all freedom and without any apprehension of danger." The effect of this speech was instantaneous and marvelous. "The scene," the memoirs go on, "was changed from an almost mortal abjection to one of extreme joy. Bells began to ring, the church was crowded, and there was every appearance of extravagant joy and happy confusion." Kaskaskia had been won over to the American cause by the influence and overtures of Gibault, and the strategy, tact and humanity of Col. Clarke.

Clarke lost no time in following up the foothold he had gained in the country. He ordered Lieut.-Col. Joseph Bowman to proceed on the morning of the 5th of July against Cahokia. But it was impossible. The Kaskaskians wanted to go along and capture the Cahokians, as they had themselves been taken, by showing them what a good thing it was to be Americans. Bowman, therefore, left in the evening with a detachment of Clarke's Virginians and an enthusiastic company of Kaskaskia militia. Cahokia capitulated on the morning of the 6th without a shot. Fort Chartres, St. Philip and Prairie du Rocher were gotten for the asking, and in a few days the country was in a perfect state of harmony and happiness. Post Vincennes alone remained, before the country could be subdued. It was a place of infinite importance to Clarke. Hence, after the capture of Cahokia, "it was never," he writes, "out of my mind." But he was at the same time fully sensible that all the forces he had, joined to every man in Kentucky, would not be able to approach it. He

resolved, therefore, on other measures than those of arms, "and as," he still writes in his memoirs, "from some things I had learned, I had some reasons to suspect that Mr. Gibault was inclined to the American interest previous to our arrival in the country, I sent for him and had a long conference with him on the subject of Post Vincennes. He informed me that he did not think it worth while to cause military preparations to be made, although the place was strong and there was a great number of Indians in its neighborhood; that he knew that his appearance there would have great weight; that if it were agreeable to me he would take this business on himself, and had no doubt of his being able to bring the place over to the American interest without my being at the trouble of marching against it."



ST. XAVIER'S CHURCH, POST VINCENNES.

Pere Gibault's plan was forthwith adopted by Clarke. That reverend gentleman set off for Vincennes at once, reached the fort without delay, and, after spending a day or two explaining the situation to the people, they fell to his proposals on all sides, and went in a body to the church, where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the most solemn manner. The American flag was then displayed, to the astonishment of the Indians; "in a word," says Clarke, "everything was settled far beyond our most sanguine hopes." After the capture of Vincennes, Col. Clarke inaugurated that long series of councils by which, eventually, he won over to the American cause all the

Indians on the Wabash and the Illinois, the Missouris, together with those Indians as high up as the Iowas, the Sauks and Renards and all the fires around the base of Lake Michigan. In this conquest, Father Gibault was again his chief counselor and aid. The strongest Indian force in the West at that time was the League of the Wabash, governed by The Tobacco's Son, an old Piankeshaw chief, the counterpart and one-time rival of Pontiac, and who was known thoughout the Western frontier as "the Grand Door of the Wabash." The Grand Door was a great friend of Father Gibault. Father Gibault therefore came to him, smoked with him, told him of the power and goodness of Col. Clarke and his Big Knives, and thereafter The Grand Door of the Wabash was the brother and lasting friend of the Big Knives, the Indian for the American cavalry sabre which Clarke's men wore.

Meantime, however, Fort Vincennes had been recaptured by the English, and strongly fortified by Col. Hamilton. Clarke immediately set everything a-going to retake the place as early as possible. A large force was collected at Kaskaskia, and a plan of campaign adopted by which Vincennes was to be assailed by land and water. The river expedition left Kaskaskia, February 1st, 1779, in a single batteau "The Willing," carrying supplies and a detachment of forty-six men. It was to sail down the Kaskaskia and Mississippi and up the Ohio and Wabash to the mouth of the White river. The land forces of five companies which recaptured Vincennes on the 24th February, 1779, left Kaskaskia on the 5th of February, taking the short St. Louis trail to Vincennes. It was on this occasion that the patriotic figure of Gibault stood forth in the full grandeur of its powerful stature. He addressed the Virginians and Kaskaskians in the stirring language of the occasion, in words of battle and of liberty and then with all the solemnity of his ascetic presence, imparted the Church's blessing and God's speed to those brave backwoodsmen who were battling for freedom and for the empire of their native land.

Who will wonder then that Pere Gibault has come down to posterity as the Patriot Priest of the West, when we observe

the zeal with which he animated every movement of the Americans struggling in the wilderness to wrest the broad domain of the Northwest from the arms of England and her treacherous allies of the prairie and the forest. Nor were his services unknown to the leaders of the Revolution. "No man," writes Judge Law, "has paid a more sincere tribute to the services of Rev. Mr. Gibault than Clarke himself." These same services were acknowledged by a resolution of the Virginia Legislature in 1780; and Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia, advising with Gen'l Clarke upon a plan for the capture of Detroit, writes: "I recommend this to your serious consideration and counsel you to consult with some confidential person upon the subject; with, perhaps, Mr. Gibault, to whom this country owes so many thanks for his zeal and services." It was this zeal and these services for which the English hated him, and sought his head. Hamilton calls him "an active agent of the rebels," and then pays him this high compliment: "This wretch it was who absolved the French inhabitants from their allegiance to the King of Great Britain. To enumerate the vices of the people out here would be to give a long catalogue; but to assert that they are not possessed of a single virtue, is no more than truth and justice require. Still, the most eminently vicious and scandalous is the Rev. Mr.

FATHER GIBAULT BLESSING CLARKE'S TROOPS, KASKASKIA, FEBRUARY 5TH, 1779.

Gibault." These are not moderate words. But they are an enemy's tribute to Pere Gibault's patriotism; while, perhaps, they suggest that, if the Revolution had been a contest in billingsgate, slander and untruth, we might to-day be a British Colony.

FATHER GIBAULT, THE SECOND VICAR-GENERAL FOR ST. LOUIS.

This, now, is the commanding figure, who, next after the venerable Meurin, exercised immediate spiritual jurisdiction over the budding settlement of St. Louis. As I intimated above, he succeeded to the office of Vicar-General in June, 1769. His first act of jurisdiction here was the blessing of the little log chapel begun by Father Meurin. This was on the 24th of June, 1770, on his return from his first visit to Vincennes. To bless the chapel was doubtless the first object of his call over here; but he came for the further object of inquiring into the spiritual appointment of the newly inducted Spanish authority. They were, he found, unattended by priests, and Vicar-General Gibault guaranteed to attend to their needs until the appointment of their own pastors. This accounts for his periodical appearance in St. Louis from 1770 to 1772.

In 1772, however, a Capuchin, Fray Valentine, turned up in the village, calling himself pastor of St. Louis. Billon says he as suddenly and unaccountably vanished on June 15th, 1775. After his departure, which was during Vicar-General Gibault's visit to Canada, and during his forced delay at Detroit until the late spring of 1776, Father Meurin dragged himself over here in the fall of 1775, on the 4th and 5th of October. Father Gibault had not returned by the spring of 1776, and we notice that Fray Hilaire dé Genovaux, who had buried his New Orleans ambitions and quarrels with Fray Dagobert in the little parish of Ste. Genevieve, officiated here on the 19th of March. Fr. Gibault returned from Canada in the summer of 1776. But that same season, Fray Bernard de Lympach arrived here as successor to Fray Val-

entine. It was he who in the summer of 1776, blessed the second church in St. Louis. It is briefly described as "a wooden structure sixty feet long and half that measure in width, with a veranda five feet wide running around the whole structure." After Fray Bernard's pastorship here no great difficulties occur in fixing the jurisdictional affinities of St. Louis. All that remains, therefore, to establish the early ecclesiastical genealogy of the church here, is to determine

THE SECOND CHURCH AND PARISH RESIDENCE IN ST. LOUIS, 1776.

by what legitimate authority Valentine and de Lympach exercised their ministerial functions in St. Louis.

To throw as much light as we can on this point, let me, first of all, repeat that, from June 6th, 1767, when Mgr. Briand, Bishop of Quebec, constituted Father Meurin his Vicar-General over all the territory that France had possessed in North America, no doubt longer existed that St. Louis belonged to the diocese of Quebec. At what time then did this city cease to pertain to the ecclesiastical government of Canada? John Gilmary Shea, the highest authority on this matter, after considerable research writes as follows: "About thirteen years after the cession of Louisiana to Spain, that is about

1776, the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, who had always regarded Florida as part of his diocese, extended his jurisdiction over Louisiana. There is, however, no trace of any decree at Rome, or at Quebec, by which Louisiana was formally detached from the diocese of Quebec, and the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba seems to have acted under the direction of the Spanish Court, claiming the territory as the part of ancient Florida traversed by De Soto." That the transfer of the west bank of the Mississippi from Canada to Cuba could have been effected in that way, and, probably enough, was so effected, would not puzzle me. For the king of Spain in virtue of a Bull of Pope Julius II, exercised the right to decide as to the erection of new dioceses in Spanish America and as to their limits; it imposed the duty upon him of providing for the maintenance of the clergy and bishops, and further conferred upon him the right to make all episcopal nominations. The case was then sent to Rome and the Holy See, in most instances, approved the steps taken, created the new bishopric, and preconized the bishop.

Now if this theory be true, the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba exercised no jurisdiction in St. Louis prior to 1776. But let us suppose that Shea's date is not the correct date of the transfer; but that the whole province of Louisiana passed under the jurisdiction of Cuba on the 19th of July, 1772. This was the day on which Fray Cirilo de Barcelona landed in New Orleans with a commission from the Bishop of Santiago, to look into the affairs of the church, and to report to him upon the state of religion in Louisiana. Assuming, therefore, that the date of the transfer of jurisdiction in St. Louis from Quebec to Cuba, is identical with the advent of the Spanish Ecclesiastical Commissioner at New Orleans, it follows at once that, if Fray Valentine came to St. Louis with a jurisdiction delegated to him in New Orleans, his faculties were null and void. For he reached St. Louis on the 24th of May, 1772, over two months, therefore, before Cirilo de Barcelona landed at New Orleans. He could not, then, have received his jurisdiction from Cuba, even upon the supposition that Cirilo possessed the powers of Vicar-General, which he did

not for upwards of a year at least after his arrival. Fray Valentine's jurisdiction could not, then, have come from any other source than Fray Dagobert, the Superior of the Capuchins in New Orleans, and under no construction, as I have shown above, did Fray Dagobert's arrogated jurisdiction extend to the Upper Mississippi. The jurisdiction, therefore, which he exercised while he remained here as pastor was the jurisdiction of Quebec, and not that of Cuba. For it was Father Gibault's duty to see to it that the people had the sacraments validly administered to them. Now, that Fray Valentine continued to administer the sacraments here for three years, vouches for the validity of his jurisdiction. This was the jurisdiction of Quebec. For, to speak at least for St. Louis, this city was under the jurisdiction of Quebec until the 5th of October, 1775. This is established by all our records, which show that old Father Meurin officiated here on the 4th and 5th of October of that year. Now Father Meurin had no jurisdiction from Cuba, and there was nobody in this part of the country to furnish him with it. St. Louis, then, continued under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec until the close of 1775. It was about this time that Vicar-General Gibault went to Quebec. I am curious to know the object of this visit. Being made at the time it was, with the knowledge of how things were going on in New Orleans between the French and Spanish factions among the Capuchins, and observing the daily more inevitable advent of the Spanish clergy on the west bank of the Mississippi; it is more than probable that he tore himself away from the dying Meurin, and the ubiquitous needs of his mission, to confer with his bishop upon this question of jurisdiction and its limits. No other object was important enough to call him away at that time. I think he went to Quebec to represent the condition of things to Mgr. Briand, the more so that he made so desperate efforts to get back home as fast as he was able. However all this may be, he found another Spanish pastor in St. Louis on his return. This was Father Bernard de Lympach. De Lympach was in all probability the first pastor of St. Louis, under the Cuban jurisdiction. His

diploma at least goes all the way to establish this much. It is a rather formal and pompous document which was duly registered by the Lieutenant-Governor, Francisco Cruzat, and placed in the government archives. It reads as follows:—

Father Dagobert de Longwy, Principal Capuchin Priest, and Vicar-General of the Mission of Louisiana in the diocese of Havana de Cuba, to our very Dear Brother, the Reverend Father Bernard de Lympach, a Professed Friar of that Order, in the Province of Liege and Apostolic Missionary of this Mission.

GREETING:

"Well and sufficiently knowing your good habits and capacity, desirous also to conform in all things to the commands of his very Christian Majesty, who, by his letters-patent, registered at the registry of the Superior Council of this colony, to grant in proper and due form, appointments as curates to our missionaries who merit it, to those parishes and posts to which the mission had formerly been deemed as entitled, and to place them in legal possession, until his Catholic Majesty should otherwise dispose. We have, therefore, given and conferred, and by these presents do give and confer on you, the curacy or parish of St. Louis, of the Illinois, Post Pain-Court, with all its rights and appendages."

The document is dated February 18, 1776, and sufficiently establishes the fact that St. Louis was then included within the jurisdiction of Cuba. The only suspicious feature about the diploma is that it was issued by Fray Dagobert and not by Cirilo de Barcelona, the Vicar-General of Santiago de Cuba. But this suspicion ceases to affect its jurisdictional validity, when we reflect that the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba to preserve peace between the French and Spanish factions in the province, suffered Fray Dagobert to exercise the powers of Vicar-General over those — mostly French Capuchins — who refused to admit the immediate authority of Fray Cirilo de Barcelona. There were in New Orleans, at the time that de Lympach's appointment was issued, practically two Vicars-General representing the Bishops of Santiago

de Cuba. With the advent, therefore, of Father de Lympach, Vicar-General Gibault retired from the spiritual headship of the church in St. Louis. In 1787 the diocese of Santiego de Cuba was divided by the Holy See, at the instance of the King of Spain, and a new diocese erected, embracing the Floridas, Louisiana and the city of Havana. With Louisiana, St. Louis passed, for a brief space, under the jurisdiction of the new diocese of St. Christopher of Havana, with Cirilo de Barcelona as auxiliary Bishop of Tricale, and resident at New Orleans. This change did not work the results looked for in favor of religion and ecclesiastical discipline in the province of Louisiana. A new division was therefore resolved upon by the court of Spain. The Floridas and Louisiana were separated from the diocese of Havana, and erected into a new see, the See of New Orleans, whose first bishop was the Rt. Rev. Luis Peñalver y Cardenas. Upon the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, St. Louis was incorporated into the extensive diocese of Baltimore. Later it came under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Bardstown, Kentucky, and once more passed under the jurisdiction of New Orleans, during the administration of Rt. Rev. Wm. Du Bourg. Later still, in 1827, it was erected into a separate see, with the Right Rev. Dr. Joseph Rosati as its first bishop. Finally in 1841, under the Most Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, D. D., it was raised to the metropolitan dignity of the first archdiocese west of the Mississippi.

RT. REV. LUIS PENALVER Y CARDENAS,
BISHOP OF LOUISIANA AND THE FLORIDAS.

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Missouri Historical Society.

No. 15.

1899.

Our Remaining Charter and Youngest Members

First Loan Exhibition, Missouri Historical Society, April 10th, 1899.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

No. 15.

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ST. LOUIS:
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To the Members and Friends of the Missouri Historical Society:

In behalf of the Society I desire to return thanks to those of its members and friends through whose hearty co-operation the recent Historical Loan Exhibit was made such a gratifying success.

To the committees in charge, to the ladies who kindly served as patronesses, to the public in general who showed such appreciation of our efforts, and especially to those ladies and gentlemen who, though not members of the society, so materially added to the value of the exhibit by their generous contribution of articles of interest, we are under the deepest obligation.

The Loan Exhibit brought more than three thousand persons to our rooms, the great majority of whom had never before entered the building. By the interest thus created a large addition was made to our membership. The nature of the work which we are trying to do was made clearer and its importance emphasized.

We wish to impress upon our friends, however, that an exhibit of the collections of the society is open every week-day in the year. We cordially invite them to come in and study the many objects of interest belonging to the Society at their leisure, and we wish it understood that this invitation is extended to all persons, whether members of the Society or not.

The Missouri Historical Society has no endowment and has never been fortunate enough to receive any large gifts. It depends upon its members and friends for support. To do even a small part of the work which lies within its scope, it needs a larger income, which at present can come only from an increase in its membership.

In the list of members which follows will be found a number of names under the heading "*Junior Active Mem-*

bers." This class of our membership is made up of children of our members, whose parents believe that connection with the life of a society like ours will not only be a source of pride in the future but will have an excellent educational influence in stimulating an intelligent interest in the history of our city and of the country at large. This list is to a large extent the result of our Loan Exhibit and will undoubtedly receive large accessions in the near future.

We are glad to receive contributions to our collections at any time. In many families in this city and State are doubtless objects of historical interest which the owners would be glad to place in our care, either as gifts, or as loans. All such things will be gratefully received and will be properly exhibited and cared for.

Our members and friends are earnestly requested to keep these facts in mind, and to be ready to help us do our work.

With renewed thanks to all who have encouraged us so greatly, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

MARSHALL S. SNOW,
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Bryan, W. S., St. Louis.
Brymner, Douglas, Ottawa, Canada.
Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, N. Y.

C.

Colburn, F. M., Central, Mo.
Chittenden, Col. Hiram M., St. Louis.
Chouteau, Miss Lucille, St. Louis.
Cockrell, Hon. F. M.
Chicago Academy of Science, Chicago.
Canadian Institute, Toronto.
Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.
Colorado State Historical Society, Denver.
Cole, T. L., Washington, D. C.
Carr, Lucien, Cambridge, Mass.
Clark, Capt. J. S., Des Moines, Ia.
Curry, Hon. J. L. M., Chicago.
Coulter, John M., Chicago.
Clark, Enos, St. Louis.
Corey, Deloraine P.
Carpenter, C. G.
Chicago Historical Society, Chicago.
Cramer, Gustav, St. Louis.
Cochran, Mr. and Mrs. Geo. J., St. Louis.

D.

Dimock, Susan W., New York City.
Dennison, Christian, Detroit, Mich.
Devoy, John.
Diggs, W. H. H., Glasgow, Mo.
Devron, Dr. G, New Orleans, La.
De Menil, Alex. N., St. Louis.
Davis, Samuel M., St. Paul, Minn.
Drake, George S., St. Louis.

E.

Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
Engineers Club of St. Louis.
Eldredge, D., Boston, Mass.

F.

Filley, Chauncey I., St. Louis.
Field Columbian Museum, Chicago.
Fry, W. J., Glencoe, Mo.
Freudenau, William, St. Louis.
Filley, Giles F., St. Louis.
Fowke, Gerard, Chillecothe, O.
Foy, Julius L., St. Louis.
Foy, Peter L., St. Louis.

G.

Gray, Melvin L., St. Louis.
Graham, Christine R., St. Louis.
Gunckel, Lewis H., Dayton, O.
Grissom, D. W., St. Louis.
Gibson, Charles, St. Louis.

H.

Hoblitzelle, Clarence L., Jr., St. Louis.
Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines.
Hahn, Wm. H., St. Louis.
Haughey, Michael, St. Louis.
Humphrey, Geo. P., Rochester, N. Y.
Hitchcock, Henry, St. Louis.
Hyde, Miss Amy, St. Louis.
Harrison, Edwin, St. Louis.
Hogan, Michael C., St. Louis.

I.

Iowa Geological Survey, Des Moines.
Imperial Society of History, Stockholm.
Indian Rights Association, Philadelphia.
Imperial Academy, Stockholm.

Imperial University, Tokio, Japan.
Iowa Masonic Library, Cedar Rapids.
Iowa Historical Library, Cedar Rapids.

J.

Joy, Hon. Chas. E., St. Louis.
Johnson, William.
Jewett, Hon. D. T., St. Louis.
Johnson, Prof. J. B., Madison, Wis.

K.

Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

L.

Leighton, Col. George E., St. Louis.
Lesueur, A. A., Secy. of State, Jefferson City.
Lucas, J. B. C., St. Louis.
Lucas, William, Minneapolis.
Lambing, Rev. A. A., Wilkinsburg, Pa.
Louvain University, Louvain.
Library Company of Philadelphia.
Little, Brown & Co., Boston.
Lawrence, Dr. J. J., St. Louis.
Lewis, Prof. T. H., St. Paul.
Lewis, Geo. W., Bridgeport, Conn.
LaBarge, Mr. and Mrs. A. G., St. Louis.

M.

Marburg Natural History Society.
Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee.
Maine Genealogical Society.
Maine Association.
Manitoba Historical Society, Winnepeg.

Mercantile Library, St. Louis.
Medford Historical Society, Medford, Mass.
Mexico Meteorological Observatory, Mexico.
Michigan State Library, Lansing.
Morrill, Henry L., St. Louis.
McKellops, Dr. Henry J., St. Louis.
Mathias, F. W., St. Louis.
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
McCormick Harvesting Machine Co., Chicago.
Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.
Moore, Clarence B., Philadelphia.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Lansing.
Morgan, George H., St. Louis.
Milner, A. M., St. Louis.
Moloney, Cornelius, St. Louis.
Missouri Medical Association.
McMaster, S. W., Rock Island, Ill.
Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.
Missouri Society, — Sons of the Revolution.
Missouri Bureau of Labor, St. Louis.
Montana Historical Society, Helena.
Missouri State University, Columbia.

N.

New York State Library, Albany, N. Y.
New Jersey Geological Survey, Trenton.
Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln.
New York Public Library, New York.
New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston.
New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord.

O.

Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.
Ohio Historical and Archaeological Society, Columbus.
Oberfalz and Regensburg Historical Society, N. Y.
Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N. Y.

Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, Cincinnati.
Old Church History Society, Oberlin, O.
Ontario Historical Society, Toronto.

P.

Papin and Tontrup, St. Louis.
Pennsylvania R. R. Company, Philadelphia.
Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.
Publishers Weekly, New York.
Petersen, Dr. C. A., St. Louis.
Perry, Mason & Co., Boston.
Phillips, W. A., Chicago.
Preetorius, Dr. Emil, St. Louis.

R.

Royal Historical Society, London.
Ruggles, Henry S.
Richardson, Wm. A., estate of.
Rauck, George W., Lexington, Ky.
Reinplaz Natural History Society.
Rochester Historical Society, Rochester, N. Y.
Richesen, Col. Thomas, St. Louis.

S.

Simmons, Misses.
St. Louis Globe-Democrat.
Sheets, Joseph H., St. Louis.
Savage, George, Baltimore.
Sloan, Miss Sophia, St. Louis.
Sturgeon, Isaac H., St. Louis.
Snow, Marshall S., St. Louis.
Smithsonian Institution, St. Louis.
Seever, William J., St. Louis.
Seever, Christiana.

Sound Currency Reform Club, New York.
Stifel, Capt. C. A., St. Louis.
St. Louis University, St. Louis.
St. Louis Republic, St. Louis.
Syracuse Central Library, Syracuse, N. Y.
Swan, Robert T., Boston.
St. Louis Training School for Nurses, St. Louis.
St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis.
Sherwood, George F. T., London.
Steinbiss, H. W., St. Louis.

T.

Thomas, Douglas H., Boston.
Texas State Historical Association, Austin.
Thurston, Lorrina.
Travelers Insurance Co.
Taussig, Dr. William, St. Louis.
Terry, John H., St. Louis.

U.

United States.
University of New York, Albany.
University of Vermont, Montpelier.

V.

Vest, Hon. George E.
Veteran Volunteer Firemen Historical Society, St. Louis.
Vineland (N. J.) Historical Society.

W.

Williams, Rev. Meade C., St. Louis.
Williams, David R.
Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison.

Wyoming Commemorative Association, Wilkes Barre, Penn.
Washington University, St. Louis.
Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland.
Wyoming Historical and Genealogical Society, Wilkes Barre, Penn.
Winn, Mary Polk, St. Louis.
Washburn, Hon. Hemsted, Chicago.

SPECIAL GIFTS.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTEREST FUND.

J. G. Chapman, George E. Leighton, $450.
Pierre Chouteau, expense of translating of colonial documents.

CONTRIBUTORS TO PERMANENT LOAN EXHIBITION SUBJECT TO WITHDRAWAL AT PLEASURE.

Boehl, Emil.
Chouteau, Pierre.
Filley, Giles F.
Gratiot, Victoria.
Graham, D. W.
Harrison, Edwin.
Knox, H. M.
Mercantile Library.
Poepping, H. N.
Richesen, Col. Thomas.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

NAME.

This Society shall be known as the MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II.

OBJECTS.

The general object of this Society shall be to encourage historical research and inquiry, and to disseminate historical information, especially within the State of Missouri, and also within the entire Mississippi Valley.

The particular objects of this Society shall be: *First*, The establishment of a library of books and publications appropriate to such an institution, with convenient works of reference, and also a cabinet of antiquities, relics, etc.; *Second*, The collection into a safe and permanent depository of manuscripts, documents, papers, and tracts, possessing a historical value and worthy of preservation; *Third*, To encourage investigation of prehistoric remains, and more particularly to provide for the complete and scientific exploration and survey of such prehistoric monuments as exist within the limits of this State and the Mississippi Valley; *Fourth*, To collect and preserve in particular, such historical materials as shall serve to illustrate the settlement and growth of the City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, and the Mississippi Valley.

ARTICLE III.

OFFICERS.

The regular officers of this Society shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Librarian, who shall be Curator.

All the above-named officers shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Society, and shall hold their respective offices for one year and until their successors shall be duly elected and qualified.

Vacancies occurring from any cause in any of the regular offices of this Society shall be filled by ballot at any regular meeting, notice of such election having been given by the Secretary in calling the meeting at which such election shall take place.

ARTICLE IV.

MEMBERSHIP.

The membership of this Society shall be composed of four classes, viz.: Active, Life, Corresponding, and Honorary.

Any person of good moral character may become an active member of this Society upon such conditions as may be prescribed in the By-Laws.

Any person elected to be an active member, may, by the contribution of the sum of fifty dollars to the treasury of the Society, become a life member, with all the privileges of an active member, and thenceforth shall be exempt from all annual charges.

Corresponding and Honorary members may be admitted to this Society upon such conditions as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws.

ARTICLE V.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

There shall be an Advisory Committee, composed of the President and seven active members appointed by him at the annual meeting of the Society.

They shall exercise general supervision over the museum, rooms and building of the Society; they shall authorize the disbursement and expenditure of all money belonging to the Society, and no expenditure shall be made or ordered except upon their approval.

They shall also act as a Committee on Donations, with power to accept or reject proposed gifts of books, pictures, or any material for the collections of the Society.

They shall supervise the printing and distribution of all publications issued by the Society, and nothing shall be published without their approval.

They shall consider all applications for membership, and offer such names for election as shall have been approved by them.

ARTICLE VI.

AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution may be amended by the vote of two-thirds of the members present at any regular meeting, *provided* that ten members shall be present; and *provided further*, that any proposed amendment shall have been submitted at the last meeting previous to that at which the vote shall be taken.

BY-LAWS.

I.

PRESIDENT.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and perform such other duties as usually devolve on that officer.

II.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

The Vice-Presidents, in the order of their election, shall, in the absence of the President, or in case of his death, resignation, or inability to act, perform his duties.

III.

SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall keep a record of all the meetings of the Society, which record shall be duly signed and certified by him and read at the opening of the succeeding meeting for information and revision. He shall have charge of the seal, charter, certificates, and records of the Society. He shall also duly notify the active members of all meetings, and all new members of their election.

All written communications relating to the Society and its work which may be received by him shall be duly preserved and deposited with the collections of the Society, and a report of the same shall be made by him at its next meeting.

He shall also act as Secretary of the Advisory Committee.

IV.

LIBRARIAN AND CURATOR.

The Librarian shall have charge of the library and cabinet, including all manuscripts, papers and documents in the possession of the Society. He shall prepare a suitable catalogue of the same, and have all papers and manuscripts properly numbered, filed or arranged for security and convenient reference. He shall keep an account of all books taken from the library by the members, or any person specially authorized to do so by the Society, and by whom taken, and mark their return. He shall in no case allow manuscripts to be taken from his custody, or copies of the same to be made, or articles to be removed from the cabinet, without express permission from the Advisory Committee.

He shall also keep a record of all donations, in a book for that purpose, giving date of donations, how received, name and residence of donor, a full description of books, pictures, manuscripts, pamphlets, antiquities, or relics presented, and the acknowledgment made to the donor. It shall also be his duty to provide for the full security of all books and collections belonging to the Society, by reporting, as occasion may require, their condition, and to recommend such steps as he shall judge necessary for their perfect preservation, and to make an annual report in writing to the Society of all donations, and the general condition of the cabinet library. He shall receive for his services a compensation which shall be fixed by vote of the Society.

V.

TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall collect and have charge of the funds and securities of the Society. He shall pay no money except by a vote of the Society, or by order of the Advisory

Committee. He shall keep regular and faithful accounts in proper books of the Society of all money and securities of the Society that may come into his hands, and of all receipts and expenditures connected with the same, and shall present a full and accurate report thereof to the Society at their annual meeting. His accounts shall always be open to the inspection of the Advisory Committee.

VI.

MEETINGS.

The regular meetings of this Society shall be held on the second Thursday of each month, from November to April inclusive, and the January meeting shall be the annual meeting.

Special meetings may be called by the President, or, in case of his absence, by one of the Vice-Presidents, for the dispatch of extraordinary business, of which seasonable notice, in writing, shall be given to all the active members.

VII.

QUORUM.

Five active members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting, except at the annual meeting for the election of officers, when the required number shall be ten active members.

VIII.

ADMISSION OF MEMBERS.

Any person may become an active member of the Society upon the approval by ballot of a majority of the members of the Advisory Committee.

Corresponding members, not residents of the State of Missouri, and Honorary members may be elected upon the

same conditions as active members. Such members shall have the right to attend any of the meetings of the Society, and to participate in any scientific or historical discussions, but they shall not vote nor hold any office, and they shall be exempt from all dues or assessments.

IX.

DUES.

The annual assessment payable by every active member, not a life-member, shall be five dollars.

Any active member who shall fail to pay the regular assessment before the annual meeting next succeeding shall forfeit his membership, if it be so determined by the Advisory Committee, to whom all such cases of delinquency shall be referred.

X.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Reading of Minutes.
2. Reports.
3. Donations and Correspondence.
4. Elections.
5. Unfinished Business.
6. Miscellaneous Business.

XI.

AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS.

These By-Laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any meeting of the Society; *provided* notice of such proposed amendment shall have been sent to every active member at least three days before such meeting.

MEMBERS OF THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Edward E. Ayer,
Charles E. DeLand,
Peter L. Foy,
Edwin Harrison,
John B. Johnson,
George E. Leighton,
Dr. Emil Praetorius,

LIFE MEMBERS.

Bent, Miss Mary L.
Durkee, Miss Laura.

Barnard, George D.
Bofinger, John H.
Boyce, John P.
Boyce, Joseph.
Bradbury, Frank.
Bridge, Hudson E.

Catlin, Daniel.
Collier, M. Dwight,
Crane, Arba N.
Cummings, J. K.

Daughaday, Hamilton.
Delafield, Wallace.
Drew, F. A.

Edgar, T. B.

Harris, Mrs. Alma.
McKee, Miss Ellen J.

Franklin, Joseph.
Frost, Gen'l D. M.
Furth, Jacob.

Gibson, Charles.
Gibson, Gerolt.

Haeusler, Herman A.
Hennessey, Rt. Rev. John J.
Holland, Rev. R. A.
Holmes, Charles.

Ittner, Anthony.

Kehr, E. C.

Leighton, Col. George E.
Lucas, J. B. C.

Mason, Isaac M.
McKeighan, J. E.

Papin, Theophile.
Peper, Christian, Jr.
Prather, John G.
Pretorius, Edward L.

Rosenheim, Morris.

Shapleigh, A. F.
Snow, Prof. Marshall S.
Spaunhorst, H. J.
Stanley, Henry.
Starkloff, Dr. Hugo M.
Stevens, Dr. Chas. D.

Taussig, George W.
Terry, John H.
Thompson, W. B.
Tuttle, Rt. Rev. Daniel S.

Walsh, Edmund P.
Whitaker, Edwards.
Woerner, J. G.

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

Bailey, Mrs. Anna H.
Bent, Mrs. Anna E.
Boyce, Miss Mary E.
Chapman, Mrs. J. G.
Chouteau, Mrs. Lucille Chauvin.
Davis, Mrs. H. N.
De Menil, Mrs. Alexander N.
Dimmock, Mrs. Caroline G.
Doane, Mrs. Ellen P.
Glasgow, Mrs. Edward J., Jr.
Ittner, Mrs. Mary Isabel.
Lionberger, Mrs. Isaac H.
Maffitt, Miss Emilee.
Morrison, Mrs. J. L. D.
O'Reilly, Mrs. P. S.
Peugnet, Mrs. Virginia S.
Potter, Mrs. Henry S.
Scanlan, Mrs. M. F.
Walsh, Mrs. Julia M.
Wells, Mrs. Rolla.

Adams, Elmer B.
Adreon, E. L.
Alden, John T.
Allen, George L.
Allison, Jas. W.
Altheimer, Benj.
Armstrong, Samuel Treat.

Bacon, Williamson.
Bagnell, William.
Baker, I. G.
Bakewell, Paul.
Bartholdt, Hon. Richard.
Bartlett, George M.
Bascome, Western.
Bates, Charles F.
Bemis, S. A.
Benoist, Howard.
Berthold, J. B. S.
Bilbro, H. B.

Bissell, F. R.
Blair, James L.
Blanke, C. F.
Blodgett, Wells H.
Boogher, Jesse L.
Boogher, John H.
Boyle, W. F.
Broadhead, Prof. G. C.
Brockman, F. W.
Brookings, Robert S.
Brown, George W.
Busch, Adolphus.
Bushnell, D. I.
Bushnell, D. I., Jr.
Bryson, Dr. John P.

Cabanne, J. Charles.
Cadle, Henry.
Campbell, R. A.
Campbell, Hugh.
Campbell, Given.
Campbell, James.
Carleton, Murray.
Carpenter, George O.
Case, J. B.
Cavender, John H.
Chamberlain, F. B., Jr.
Chaplin, Chancellor W. S.
Chauvenet, Louis.
Chew, Phil.
Chouteau, Charles P.
Chouteau, Pierre.
Church, A. C.
Clark, Charles.
Clark, Enos.
Collins, Lewis E.
Collins, Martin.
Collins, Monroe R., Jr.
Collins, Thos. R.
Comstock, Dr. T. G.
Conrad, Dr. Wm.
Coyle, J. F.
Crunden, F. M.
Curtis, Wm. S.

Dameron, E. C.
Davis, Horatio N.
Davis, John D.
DeMenil, Alexander N.
Denyven, J. M.
Desloge, Jules.
Devoy, Edward.
De Wolf, E. A.
Dodd, S. M.
Donaldson, Wm. Rhind.
Donk, E. C.
Donovan, Frank L.
Dooley, Dr. J.
Douglas, Walter B.
Dozier, L. D.
Drake, Geo. S.
Drummond, Harrison J.
Dula, Robert B.

Eaton, Francis G.
Edgell, George S.
Eiseman, Benjamin.
Eliot, Edward C.
Eliot, Henry W.
Elliott, Howard.
Erskine, Frank.
Espenschied, Charles.
Euston, Alexander.
Evans, David G.
Ewing, Auguste B.
Ewing, Wm. L.

Fach, Charles.
Faust, Anthony E.
Ferguson, D. K.
Filley, Charles H.
Filley, Chauncey I.
Fischel, Dr. W. E.
Fiske, Prof. John, Cambridge, Mass.
Foy, Julius L.
Forster, C. Marquard.
Francis, David R.
Francis, Thomas H.

Gaiennie, Frank.
Garrels, G. W.
Garrison, O. L.
Gibson, Hon. James.
Gore, C. J.
Gottschalk, Fred F.
Glennon, Rt. Rev. John J.
Graham, Benj. B.
Gratz, Benjamin.
Gray, Melvin L.
Gregg, Norris B.
Gregg, Wm. H., Jr.
Gregory, Charles R.
Green, Dr. John.
Greenwood, J. M.
Grover, Hiram J.

Haarstick, Henry C.
Hart, Augustus B.
Hatfield, Henry Rand.
Hayes, Joseph M.
Healy, Frank D.
Heltzell, H. D.
Henshaw, C. C.
Herthel, Adolph.
Hibbard, W.
Hicks, Prof. F. C.
Hills, Charles S.
Hirschberg, Francis D.
Hitchcock, George C.
Hitchcock, Henry.
Hoblitzelle, Clarence L., Jr.
Hodgman, Charles.
Hofmann, E. G.
Hopkins, Rev. Henry.
Hosmer, F. L.
Hough, Warwick.
Huse, W. L.
Hutchinson, R. R.

Johnson, Charles P.
Johnson, Prof. J. B.
Jones, Clarence.
Jones, Robt. McKittrick.
Judson, F. N.

Kelly, John G.
Kennett, A. Q.
Kent, Henry T.
King, Capt. Henry.
King, Goodman.
Knight, Augustus.
Kolbenheyer, Dr. F.
Krall, Geo. W.

Lackland, R. J.
Larkin, Eli Hillis.
Larkin, Thomas H.
Lane, Francis A.
Lawrence, Dr. J. J.
Lee, W. H.
Lehman, Frederick W.
Leighton, George Bridge.

Lemoine, E. S.
Lemp, Wm. J.
Lighty, W. H.
Linley, Ezra H.
Lindsley, Dr. DeCourcey.
Lionberger, Isaac H.
Lockwood, James Y.
Loeb, Dr. H. W.
Louderman, Jas. H.
Louderman, John H.
Lubke, George W.
Lucas, Joseph D.
Lucas, William.
Lutz, Dr. Frank J.

Macbeth, Malcolm.
Madill, George A.
Maffitt, C. C.
Maffitt, P. C.
Maffitt, W. C.
Maffitt, William.
Maginn, James P.
Mallinckrodt, Edw.
Manny, E. A.
Markham, Geo. D.
Markham, W. H.
Mason, Wm. T.
McBlair, William.
McCreery, Wayman C.
McCluney, John H.
McDonald, Jesse A.
McKellops, Dr. Henry J.
McMillan, Wm.
McNair, L. G.
Meier, Col. E. D.
Mellier, K. D.
Meyer, C. F. G.
Miller, Joseph G.
Molony, Cornelius.
Moore, Austin R.
Moore, Robert.
Morrill, Henry L.
Morris, H. E.
Morrison, Dr. P. Holmes.
Morton, I. W.
Morton, T. B.
Mudd, Dr. H. H.

Nagel, Charles.
Nelson, Wm. P.
Nicolaus, Henry.
Niedringhaus, Geo. W.
Niemann, Gustav W.
Nolker, W. F.
Nugent, Daniel C.

O'Fallon, Benjamin.
O'Neil, David N.
O'Neil, Peter A.
O'Reilly, Dr. P. S.
O'Reilly, Dr. R. J.
O'Reilly, Dr. Thomas.

Pallen, Conde B.
Papin, Edward V.
Papin, Theophile, Jr.
Papin, Wm. Booth.
Parsons, Charles.
Pettus, Chas. Parsons.
Pettus, Wm. G.
Pettus, Wm. H. H.
Peugnet, Maurice.
Pierce, H. C.
Pitzman, Julius.
Pollard, H. M.

Porter, V. Mott.
Potter, Henry S.

Randall, John F.
Rassieur, Leo.
Richesen, Col. Thomas.
Riddle, Truman P.
Robert, E. S.
Rumsey, M.

Sander, Dr. Enno.
Sands, James T.
Scanlan, Philip C.
Schulenberg, O G.
Scruggs, R. M.
Seever, William J.
Sellers, John M.
Semple, Henry M.
Senseney, Dr. E. M.
Sharp, Chris.
Sherwood, Adiel.
Shepley, John F.
Short, Rev. William.
Simmons, E. C.
Simmons, Geo. W.
Simon, H. T.
Simpkins, Geo. W.
Smith, Dr. D. S. H.
Smith, Irwin Z.
Spencer, C. H.
Spencer, E. J.
Spencer, Dr. H. N.

Taussig, Benjamin J.
Taussig, Dr. William.
Taylor, Isaac S.
Tebbitts, Lewis B.
Ten Brock, G. H.
Terry, Albert T.
Thacher, Arthur.
Thayer, Hon. A. M.
Thomson, William H.
Tichenor, C. O.
Tiffany, Dexter.
Tiffany, Dexter Jr.
Treat, Hon. Samuel.
Turner, Chas. H.
Turner, Henry S.
Turner, W. P. H.

Valle, Dr. Jules F.
Vogel, Charles F.
Von Schrader, Otto U.

Wade, Festus J.
Walbridge, Col. Cyrus P.
Walsh, Edward, Jr.
Walsh, Julius S.
Waterworth, James A.
Wells, Rolla.
Wenneker, Chas. F.
Wetmore, Col. M. C.
Wiggins, Charles.
Wilkins, W. T.
Winthrop, John J.
Woodson, John M.
Woodward, W. H.
Wright, George M.
Wyman, Henry P.

Yeager, Robt. L.

Zelle, F. E.

JUNIOR ACTIVE MEMBERS.

Chouteau, Miss Lucille M.
Lionberger, Miss Margaret.
Lionberger, Miss Louise.
Lionberger, Miss Anne.
McNair, Miss Jane.
Papin, Miss Julia Marie.
Wells, Miss Maud.
Wells, Miss Jane H.
Wells, Miss Isabel.

Benoist, Louis L.
Carpenter, George O., Jr.
Carpenter, Kenneth G.
Chouteau, Pierre, Jr.
Chouteau, Auguste.
Dozier, Lewis.
De Menil, Henry N.
De Menil, George S.
Hoblitzelle, Harrison.
Lionberger, John.
Niedringhaus, George H.
O'Reilly, Dü Burg de St. C.
O'Reilly, Martin Gordon.
Stevens, Dillon T. Life member.
Wells, Erastus.
Wells, Floyd.

SUMMARY.

Honorary members	7
Life members	52
Active members	321
Junior active members	24
Total	404

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ST. LOUIS.

MARSHALL S. SNOW, *President.*
MELVIN L. GRAY, }
DR. P. S. O'REILLY, } *Vice-Presidents.*
DR. CHARLES D. STEVENS, *Treasurer.*
WILLIAM J. SEEVER, *Secretary and Curator.*

The Historical Society's rooms are located in the three-story stone and brick building located at 1090 Locust street. Here has been gathered together within the past few years a large amount of material pertaining to the history of the Mississippi Valley, particularly of old Louisiana, and of our own city and State.

A valuable library of books, manuscripts, maps, pamphlets, newspaper files, and miscellaneous collections, illustrative of the history and growth of the Mississippi Valley and its people, is in possession of the Society, the use of which is tendered its members and students free of charge.

A large and growing collection of portraits of men and women identified with the country's progress is one of the features of the Society's work.

Archæology, as a branch of history, has been cultivated by the Society and it now has an exceedingly large and valuable collection representative of this region.

It is desired to collect and add to the collections anything and everything pertaining to Western history and progress.

All documents written or printed relating to the early settlement of the Mississippi Valley—books, pamphlets, maps, letters, legal instruments, etc.; also all official papers, written or printed, of the French and Spanish domination to 1804.

Newspapers and newspaper files, especially those of early St. Louis, and of Missouri and Illinois.

Books, pamphlets, and maps relating to the discovery and settlement of the West.

Personal narratives and reminiscences, biographies of early settlers, with all details of interest pertaining to pioneer life; also facts connected with the naming of lakes, rivers, counties, towns, and places, are desired.

Household utensils, implements, ornaments, and all objects of interest used by the early inhabitants.

The utensils, implements, and arms of our predecessors—the Indians—together with information locating their towns, villages, and cemetery. Send to the Historical Society their relics for preservation.

Pictures, views, and maps of every description, photographs and engravings of points of interest, old buildings and historic places, are especially desired.

In fact the Society wishes to preserve everything of interest, past or present. Owners of interesting and valuable material, who do not wish to dispose of them, are requested to deposit them with the Society for the permanent Loan Exhibit. All such objects will be safely kept, and carefully preserved, subject to withdrawal at any time.

The Society also solicits from authors and publishers copies of their works for the Library.

Address all communications to the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

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